

**The Illustration of the Waverley novels in
Scotland:
Walter Scott's Contribution to the Nineteenth-
Century Illustrated Novel**

Richard J. Hill

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For Lauren and my family.

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I declare that this thesis, presented for the degree of PhD in English Literature from the University of Edinburgh, entitled “The Illustration of the Waverley Novels in Scotland: Walter Scott’s Contribution to the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Novel”, is entirely my own work.

Richard J. Hill

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The Illustration of the Waverley novels in Scotland: Walter Scott's Contribution to the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Novel

Introduction

The first book-illustration of a Waverley novel appeared in 1819, as a title-page vignette for Archibald Constable's collected edition of all Walter Scott's novels that had been written up to that point, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. This illustration was designed and engraved by the Scottish artist-turned-engraver William Home Lizars (see catalogue plate 1), and constituted the first image of what would prove to be a lucrative and pioneering aspect of the "Waverley industry" in the first half of the nineteenth century: the illustration of the Waverley novels. This particular strand of the Waverley industry has been largely overlooked, even dismissed, by existing Scott scholarship. The impact of the Waverley novels on contemporary history and genre painting in Britain *has* been examined and quantified by Lindsay Errington, Richard Altick and Martin Meisel, among others, but the importance of the development of the book-illustrations of the novels, and Scott's role in their production, has not been fully appreciated.¹ Both literary and art-historical criticism has been dismissive, in particular, of Scott's own views and interaction with the visual arts, and the illustration of his work. For example, in his study of the Victorian illustrated novel, J. R. Harvey makes the following claim, which typifies received critical opinion:

Sir Walter Scott may represent the attitude of the earlier three-volume novelist to illustration. None of his Waverley novels had any pictures when they first came out, though various collected editions had vignettes and frontispieces. As Scott had wanted to be a painter in his youth, and was a friend of Wilkie, Allan, and Haydon, one might have expected him to be interested in illustration for its own sake. But he was interested only if the pictures helped make the money he needed so badly.²

¹ See the following: Richard Altick *Paintings from Books* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985); Lindsay Errington, "Sir Walter Scott and Nineteenth-Century Painting in Scotland." *Scotland Creates: 5000 years of Art and Design*, ed. Wendy Kaplan, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1990); Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983).

² J. R. Harvey, *Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), p. 8. Harvey's assertion that "None of his Waverley novels had any pictures when they first came out" is not accurate: as this thesis will argue, Constable's London partners began to illustrate their stock of first editions from as early as 1821, with the publication of *Kenilworth*.

This interpretation of Scott's mercenary interests in book-illustration is representative of a wider understanding of his perceived indifference to the illustration of his novels. For example, Catherine Gordon, in her article "The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation", supports Harvey's interpretation, claiming that Scott "had no pretensions towards a serious appreciation of the visual arts; his concern for the success of the engravings [for the *Magnum Opus*] was commercial".³ More recently, Gillen D'Arcy Wood has stated that "Sir Walter Scott was indifferent to art, but in the first decades of the nineteenth century the indigenous mythology of his novels and verse romances revitalized British history painting and its tired classical subjects."⁴ Wood here articulates the received knowledge that, while the Waverley novels were undoubtedly enormously influential in the visual arts and material culture of the early nineteenth century, the author himself did not enthusiastically participate in the propagation of imagery associated with his work. This, however, was not the case, particularly with regard to the illustration of his novels from 1819, as this thesis aims to demonstrate.

The main purpose of this thesis is to address the development, importance and innovation of the illustration of the Waverley novels in Scotland during Scott's lifetime. In doing so, it will redress the common critical perception, articulated by Harvey and Wood, that the author was indifferent to the illustration of his work, other than for purely commercial reasons. While there is truth in the assertion that Scott was interested in the commercial benefits of illustration – he was always conscious of the value of his work in the marketplace – his relationship with the visual arts is much more complex than has been typically appreciated. As will be discussed, Scott had been interested in having his work illustrated from as early as 1803, and he was involved in numerous illustrated projects such as travel publications and antiquarian literature, even initiating projects like the tourist guide, the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1819-1826). His close work with artists, engravers and publishers on such projects resulted in a concise knowledge and understanding of the practicalities, logistics and economics of the engraving trade in the early nineteenth century, a knowledge which he applied, with his publishers Archibald Constable and Robert Cadell, to the illustration of his novels from 1819.

³ Catherine Gordon, "The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (London: 1971): p. 310n.

⁴ Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860*, (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2001), p. 174.

No Waverley novel appeared in Scotland, in their first editions, with illustrations. It was in London, with the publication of *Kenilworth* in 1821, that Constable's London partners began to illustrate their stock of first editions (in this case with a title-page design by the artist C. R. Leslie). However, this was due more to circumstance than any lack of will from Scott or his publishers. Unpublished correspondence between Constable and his London partners, Hurst, Robinson & Co., for example, reveals that he had been trying to illustrate the first edition of *Ivanhoe* in 1819.⁵ Complications with engravers and logistics meant that this plan had to be abandoned, just one example of several from this period in which the Edinburgh publishers failed to produce illustrations in time for publication. The first illustrations of the Waverley novels to be published in Scotland were actually sold in a separate publication as supplemental illustrations to pre-existing editions of the novels; this publication was the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley from designs by William Allan* (1820). As chapter 5 will discuss, Allan's illustrations were not only the first images ever to be commissioned for the illustration of the novels, but they were also personally encouraged, proofed and approved for publication by Scott himself.

Scott's associations with the illustration of his novels has largely been misunderstood and misrepresented, in part as a result of his own success in maintaining a public distance from the mechanics of the engraving industry. This public distance, however, was at odds with the personal interest he took in the representation of his work in the marketplace. As Jane Millgate has argued, Scott took as much control over the publishing process, and the presentation of his novels in the marketplace, as possible, and this applied as much to illustration as to any other aspect of publication.⁶ His main concern was the suitability of illustration, and illustrators, of his work: this thesis will go on to describe precisely what is meant by "suitability", but to paraphrase, it meant

⁵ NLS MS. 23619. Several letters in Constable's business correspondence with his London partners, Hurst, Robinson & Co. reveal the project being undertaken to illustrate the first edition of *Ivanhoe*. For example, a letter of 7 February 1820 (ff.5) states: "The Monastery will be out next month, but the truth is, we do not hurry it that *Ivanhoe* may have more time—the *Illustrations* cannot be a day too soon—". A letter of 7 June 1820 (ff.57) expresses Constable's dissatisfaction with the results of this effort: "Illustrations of *Ivanhoe*. These have not done well. They are not admired with us—how are they doing with you?"

⁶ Jane Millgate, "Making it New: Scott, Constable, Ballantyne, and the Publication of *Ivanhoe*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 34, no.4 (1994): p. 798. Regarding the alterations to the physical format of the publication of *Ivanhoe* in 1819, Millgate says the following: "It is not clear who first suggested the changes in the book's physical makeup—it may have been Constable—but Scott's attention to every aspect of the production of his works is evidenced by his asking, once the basic decision had been taken, to see an actual sample of the type and layout to be used..." This insistence on proofing and authorising any change in the presentation of his work in the marketplace extended also to illustration.

that he only endorsed those artists whom he felt represented his texts with suitable respect and attention to detail. The details Scott valued most highly were details of ethnology, topography and antiquarianism with regard to the people, periods or locations depicted in the novels. Such images typically involved depictions of a national or historical costume, ritual, object, character or landscape. Scott was keen to encourage artists like Allan, Wilkie, Alexander Nasmyth, James Skene and Abraham Cooper who shared his interests in the specificities of the representation of historical characters, localities or artefacts, and to dissuade those artists who misunderstood these specificities. The result of this insistence on certain types and standards of illustration, therefore, was that many of the projects originally meant for illustration were abandoned, while others, like Allan's *Illustrations*, were slow in coming to press.

However, the illustration of the Waverley novels marks an important moment in the development of the illustrated novel in the nineteenth century. The moment of conception can be traced to Constable's effort to publish *Ivanhoe* with illustration for publication in Edinburgh. Constable's efforts in producing the first ever illustrations for the Waverley novels, through William Allan, William Home Lizars and Alexander Nasmyth, formed a template which would later influence Cadell's success in illustrating the landmark *Magnum Opus* edition of the novels (1829-1833). The *Magnum*, as chapter 3 will discuss, had a huge impact on the market for cheap, well illustrated fiction in the 1830s, immediately predating the publications in 1836 of Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*, with illustrations by Halbot Browne (known as Phiz), and *Oliver Twist*, illustrated by George Cruikshank. Constable has not received the recognition he deserves for initiating this publishing trend for the illustration of popular, contemporary fiction, and Scott equally has not received the recognition he deserves for his proactive part in this project.

The illustration of the Waverley novels marks the point at which imagery began to feed into the cultural capital of the novel in the early nineteenth century, immediately anticipating the better-known successors of the Victorian period (particularly the illustrated works of Dickens and Thackeray). As it became increasingly fashionable to own an illustrated, collectable volume as an item of conspicuous consumption, so the novel became absorbed into a cultural climate in which history was presented visually as a form of modern entertainment. This was a major contribution of the Waverley phenomenon to contemporary popular culture in the early nineteenth century, as the

novels were not only illustrated, but were translated for the theatre and the opera, while paintings of Scott's localities and characters filled the academies for the next fifty years. The novel, as demonstrated by the popularity and subsequent illustration of the Waverley novels, became a central source-material for visual realisations of dramatic and topographical scenes; painters and theatre-managers looked increasingly towards the popular novel for subjects which could be brought spectacularly to life for public consumption and entertainment.

This thesis is, therefore, important in repositioning the illustrations of the Waverley novels in terms of the development of illustrated fiction in the nineteenth century. An examination of the complexities of the projects undertaken by Constable, Cadell and Scott in illustrating the novels reveals much about the literary tastes, power dynamics, markets and technologies of the publishing and engraving trades in the early nineteenth century, and about the increasingly reciprocal relationship between literature and the visual arts during this period. Scott's publishers' attempts to illustrate his novels were primarily driven by their desire to reformat the novel's physical presentation for a wider reading audience at more affordable prices, in order to maximise profits. The net effect of these attempts was to synthesise and refine various and very different disciplines – writing, painting, engraving, printing, marketing, shipping, publishing – into a well-grooved, professional enterprise by the beginning of the 1830s. The story of the illustration of the Waverley novels in the 1820s neatly reflects a professionalisation of the engraving and publishing processes, during the very early stages of mass-production for a mass-audience. This thesis therefore contributes to the understanding of book-production and marketing in nineteenth-century Edinburgh, contextualising Scotland's place in British publishing in the early modern era.

This thesis is divided into four sections, which are outlined below. The sections will deal with the central aspects which need to be considered with the development of the illustrated Waverley novels. These aspects include Scott's personal opinions on illustration and his interaction with the engraving industry; the artistic and commercial influences behind the decision to illustrate the novels; the practical and logistical complications which faced Scott and his publishers; the synergetic relationship of literature and the visual arts in the early nineteenth century; and the success with which the illustrations met in the marketplace. It will culminate with a catalogue of all the

illustrations to be commissioned and published by Scott's publishers in Edinburgh between 1819 (when the first illustration by Lizars was published) and 1833 (when the final instalment of the *Magnum* appeared). The catalogue lists up to 158 illustrations, 151 of which have been reproduced. Each illustration has a record of its title, artist, engraver, novel and edition in which it was published. The catalogue forms a useful bibliographical tool for art-historians and Scott scholars, and contributes to the understanding of publishing trends and the mechanics of book-production in the early nineteenth century. Most of all, it will reposition Edinburgh's importance in the development of the illustrated novel in the nineteenth century through the emergence and popularity of the Waverley novels.

Section I

Chapter 1, "Writing with pictures: Scott's interaction with the visual arts and the engraving industry", will address Scott's personal views, as provided by evidence in his correspondence and his fiction, on the visual arts and book-illustration. It is important to discuss and evaluate Scott's opinions on illustration before embarking on an analysis of the development of the illustrated Waverley novel. This is because no illustration would have taken place in Edinburgh for any of Scott's novels if his publishers had not had his approval. This first chapter provides the chance to evaluate Scott's willingness to incorporate illustration into his work where he felt it appropriate, to establish his view on the functionality of illustration in complimenting the written word, and to examine the role that imagery played in Scott's writing processes. Correspondence with his friend, the amateur artist James Skene of Rubislaw, provides an insight into exactly how Scott often used sketches and paintings to evoke his landscapes and characters in his novels, in turn helping to undermine Scott's own assertion that imagery relied on textual support for the viewer to fully understand the scene before them. Through the semi-professional relationship between Scott and Skene, it is possible to draw parallels with the wider artistic and commercial reciprocity between the visual arts and literature during this period. It also provides firm evidence of Scott's active participation in the market for illustrated literature, as he constantly tried to publish Skene's travel journals, and in the process reveals a concise understanding of the mechanics and economics of book-illustration. Establishing Scott's opinions on, and interaction with, the engraving

industry and the visual arts will establish a platform from which an examination of the genesis of the Waverley illustration can be undertaken.

Section II

The purpose of this section is to contextualise and analyse the conception, development and newness of the illustrated Waverley novel, both in terms of publishing innovation and the practical complexities of illustrating popular literature during the 1820s. This will involve describing the markets and precedents that previously existed for the illustrations of the novels, and subsequently an examination of the specific development of the Waverley illustration by Scott and his publishers. This section is therefore divided into two chapters. Chapter 2, “Book illustration and the manipulation of literary genres”, will examine and contextualise the markets and publishing trends for various genres of contemporary literary illustration, including the illustration of novels in the eighteenth century, contemporary poetry (particularly that of the work of Robert Burns), travel literature and the growing popularity of the literary annuals in the 1820s. The intention is to highlight the reciprocal relationship that existed between art and literature during the period, and also to describe the changing role of the engraver in the reproduction of imagery for circulation through literature. It will then demonstrate how developing technology, including the appropriation of steel-plate engraving in the mid-1820s, actually improved the artistic and commercial status of the engraver at the expense of the artist, as demonstrated with the illustration of the Waverley novels at the beginning and the end of the decade. Finally, it will discuss the critical and public reception which the new steel-plate engravings were engendering at the end of the 1820s, in order to better understand the increasing emphasis on the physical presentation of a publication for its success in the market place. This is important in helping to understand that the change in the physical presentation of the Waverley novel was symptomatic of, and contributory to, a wider cultural change in the literary market, that is, a change towards the commodification of literature in the early stages of mass-production for an expanding readership.

Having examined the primary influences on the first illustrations of the Waverley novels, and the various genres of illustrated literature from which the publishers drew in illustrating Scott for a wider readership, chapter 3, “Conception of the illustrated

Waverley novel: Scott and the mechanics of mass-media”, will then examine more closely Scott’s personal involvement with the culture of mass media and production, and his publishers’ struggles to illustrate his work. First, it will highlight the discrepancies that existed in the popularity of illustrated literature between Edinburgh and London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the healthy engraving industry in London on which the Edinburgh publishers had to rely in illustrating the Waverley novels from Scotland. From there, it will examine Constable’s conception of the first illustrated, collected edition of the Waverley novels, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, and the increasingly frustrating complications which ultimately thwarted his intentions to publish this edition with William Allan’s illustrations.

Chapter 3 will then go on to give a more precise account of Scott’s personal involvement in the illustration process, helping to re-evaluate the author’s complicity in the mechanics of the engraving trade and his encouragement of the illustration of his novels, where he felt it appropriate. His interaction with other genres of illustrated literature will be examined, concentrating on his participation in the travel guide to the antiquities of Scotland, *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, a picture book for which he wrote supporting historical and antiquarian texts. From here, it is possible to analyse the power dynamics which existed within the publishing structure of illustrated literature, and the author’s place within it. This is a complex relationship, as it involved the author, artist, engraver, publisher and printer, and was further complicated in this case by Constable’s, and subsequently Cadell’s, reliance on London’s resources in engraving. Finally, it will discuss how Cadell, with the production of the *Magnum*, ironed out the major complexities of illustrating the novels from Scotland, appropriating the latest technologies, and effectively professionalising the entire process from proofing to printing.

Section III

Section III will provide two case studies regarding the illustrators and their illustrations of the Waverley novels during Scott’s lifetime. Alexander Nasmyth and William Allan were the first author-approved, Scottish illustrators of the Waverley novels, and they provide an invaluable example from which to draw conclusions regarding the manner in which Scott wanted his work illustrated, and the attributes he

valued in illustration. Chapter 4, “Reconstructing the Tolbooth: Alexander Nasmyth’s illustrative work for Scott’s *The Heart of Midlothian*”, will look specifically at the illustrations of Nasmyth, a well established and successful theatre-set and landscape painter, who came to illustrate the novels following his work in designing the backdrops for the theatrical production of *The Heart of Midlothian* in 1819. Nasmyth witnessed the demolition of Edinburgh’s old-town jail, the “Tolbooth” (Scott’s “Heart of Midlothian”) while standing next to Scott. This experience led Nasmyth to paint the scene as a visual record, while Scott incorporated the building into his plot for *The Heart of Midlothian*, which was written within a few months. Their artistic concerns, regarding the destruction of old Edinburgh and the construction of the new, brought them together in the illustration of the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales*; this included an illustration of the Tolbooth as influenced by Nasmyth’s own painting, his work for the set-designs for Daniel Terry’s production of the novel, and the novel itself. Nasmyth’s landscape illustrations for the Waverley novels mark a point at which traditional topographical painting met with Scott’s historical contextualisations of those landscapes, a union of history and topography which influenced landscape painting in Scotland throughout the nineteenth century. This chapter will finally discuss the influence of contemporary travel literature on the depiction of the Waverley localities as conceived by Nasmyth.

Chapter 5, “William Allan: Scott’s illustrator”, provides a case study of the illustrations commissioned from the history painter, William Allan. A friend of Scott’s, Allan’s designs were meant to provide the first ever illustrations to be bound into the collected editions of the novels, the 1819 edition of the *Novels and Tales*. This chapter will examine the influence that Scott’s novels, particularly *Old Mortality* (1816), had on the history paintings of Allan, and how this influence communicates itself through his illustrations to the novels which were finally published in a separate publication called the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820). As with Nasmyth’s depiction of the demolition of the Tolbooth, one painting in particular seems to encapsulate Scott’s influence over the artist, the *Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moore, 1679*. This painting depicts a scene which, although it is not described, is central to the plot of *Old Mortality*, and it marks a clear departure from the traditional, heroic representations of the same scene which had preceded it. This departure has its roots in Scott’s representation of the protagonists involved in *Old Mortality*. The painting presents the scene as an inglorious, violent and opportunistic episode in

Scottish history, and it concentrates on particularities of historical costumes, artefacts and character types, attributes which were translated to the illustrations of the novels. This chapter will examine precisely what Scott valued about Allan's work, primarily concerning his antiquarian interests in historical costumes, and how this is communicated through the illustrations. It will then give a detailed account of the difficulties Constable faced in trying to physically produce the illustrations in time for publication in 1819, and the complex working relationships between Scott, Allan, Constable and the London publishers and engravers who were relied upon to produce the plates. Finally, it will argue the case that Allan himself was the model for a character in Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* (1819): Dick Tinto, a struggling Scottish painter who moves to London to try and find patronage and dies in obscurity, is a character woven into the narrative framework of the novel, and there is strong evidence within the novel and in Scott's correspondence, that Tinto's story is a morality tale written about and for his friend.

Chapters 4 and 5 together provide a useful insight into the two primary strands of illustration which dominated imagery for the Waverley novels: landscape painting and character painting. Nasmyth's landscape illustrations were deliberately conceived to compliment, but not compete with, Allan's illustrations of characters and costumes. The two were conceived as counterparts for each other, and they set the model for future illustrations which employed a similar separation of topographical and narrative illustration throughout the 1820s and into the 1830s. This was a separation that was conceived in part by the author himself, in collaboration with the artists and his publishers.

Section IV

Finally, section IV will consist of a brief conclusion, and the first exhaustive catalogue of the illustrations of the Waverley novels which were produced with the specific collaboration and approval of the author himself. The scope of the catalogue incorporates images produced between 1819 and 1833; although Scott died in 1832, the plates for the final instalments of the *Magnum* were in production in 1832 and would almost certainly have been seen, in some state, by Scott before died. The illustrations have been reproduced where possible, and have been clearly divided chronologically by

publication. Each publication will be introduced with bibliographical information and background, helping to provide a clear account of the development of the illustrations throughout the 1820s, culminating in the 96 steel-plate illustrations produced for Cadell's *Magnum Opus*.

Scott's personal involvement with these illustrations means that this catalogue provides a body of work which comes as close as possible to visualising precisely what Scott imagined while writing the novels. In essence, the catalogue of all the illustrations produced with authorial involvement, and authorial control, brings us closer to the literary imagination of Scott during a period in which he was frantically writing. Many paintings illustrating the novels began to appear in the academies from as early as 1816, but the book-illustrations (the first of which appeared in 1819) provide the point at which painting and their respective texts met. The illustrations reproduced here represent the templates from which artists drew in the decades following Scott's death, and helped to establish the generic models for Waverley illustration throughout the nineteenth century. These genres concentrated on topographical imagery and antiquarian concerns of costume, domestic interiors, architecture and character types. Scott's participation in the illustration of his novels effectively allowed him to assert some influence over how his work came to be illustrated throughout the nineteenth century. In this respect, a catalogue of those illustrations published with Scott's cooperation becomes an important tool in examining precisely what the author valued in illustration of his work, and in understanding in greater depth the generic forms of illustration which he and his illustrators helped to engender in the 1820s.

Section I

Chapter 1

Writing with pictures: Scott's understanding of literary illustration and the engraving industry

It is widely acknowledged that Walter Scott's Waverley novels had a profound impact on the development of history painting, particularly in Scotland, in the nineteenth century. Catherine Gordon, Lindsay Errington, Martin Meisel, Richard Altick and Duncan MacMillan, among others, have examined the extent to which Scott's localities, characters and historical narratives provided artists with an endless seam of diverse subject matter, breathing a new, much needed, life into the declining genre of history painting.⁷ However, what has previously been generally misunderstood, misrepresented, or simply ignored is Scott's own attitude to the visual arts, and specifically towards that of the print trade of the early nineteenth century. Book-illustration was the natural point at which literature and the visual arts met, and this period in publishing history began to see an unprecedented synergy between image and text, as public taste for illustration began to dictate the commercial need for illustrated publications. The commonly held perception of Scott is that he was, at best, indifferent to art, and interested in illustration only for its commercial benefits, but this perception ignores his career-long engagement with, and even encouragement of, the illustration of his work. It is not an easy association to unravel, because Scott's personal tastes in art, and the type of artists he wanted as illustrators, played a major role in all of the illustrated editions of his works during his lifetime: it is this specificity, his insistence on a certain type of artist or illustration, which has led to the misinterpretation of "indifference".

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze in greater detail Scott's willingness to engage with illustration, and how he understood the role of illustration in the writing process, at a time when the book trade was beginning to incorporate the technologies

⁷ See the following: Catherine Gordon, "The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (London: 1971): 297-317; Richard Altick *Paintings from Books* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985); Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Lindsay Errington, "Sir Walter Scott and Nineteenth-Century Painting in Scotland," *Scotland Creates: 5000 years of Art and Design*, ed. Wendy Kaplan, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990); and Duncan MacMillan, *Scottish Art, 1460-1990* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1990).

newly available to them to illustrate many different genres for a wider, middle-class readership. It will address the fact that, from the very outset of his literary career, Scott was interested in illustrating his own works. He undertook, and even initiated, work for illustrated literature such as travel guides and historical publications, before and during the 1810s, which saw the proliferation of illustrated tourist guides to Europe and the British Isles. Scott's relationship with the print trade of the early nineteenth century helps us to understand the complex, increasingly reciprocal relationship between the visual arts and literature during this period. This reciprocity worked on several levels, commercially, technologically and artistically, and the relationship can be neatly examined through the development of the illustrated Waverley novel. The practical and commercial implications of the relationship between art and literature will be examined more closely in chapters 2 and 3. Here, however, it is necessary to implicate Scott personally in the developing trade for illustrated literature, and to extract from the evidence available his own views on the marriage of image and text. This chapter will look at how Scott understood the power of illustration in conjunction with text; while he attempts to assert the dominance of the written word over the image, he often used paintings and drawings as inspiration for scenes in his novels, underlining a reciprocal, synergetic relationship between literature and the visual arts during this period.

Scott was consistent throughout his life in his views on painting and illustration, he understood the commercial benefits of having his work illustrated, but, contrary to his self-deprecatory remarks and subsequent critical appraisal, his willingness to have his work illustrated was not purely a commercial motivation. As will be discussed in later chapters, his publishers' attempts to illustrate his novels were primarily driven by their desire to reformat the novel's physical presentation for a wider, popular audience, but Scott always retained a level of authorial control over how his work was represented in the visual form. This chapter looks at how Scott understood the artistic merits of literary illustration, and introduces his interaction with the visual arts in relation to his novels. Firstly, it will examine an example from late in his career, an illustrated short story he wrote for the *Keepsake of 1829*, "The Death of the Laird's Jock", in which he articulates through his fiction precisely how he understood the relationship of text and image. It will then examine his friendship and correspondence with the artist James Skene, a regular correspondent and riding companion who claims, in his *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, that certain characters and events which appear in the Waverley novels were directly inspired by drawings he had taken on excursions with the author. This

claim challenges us to re-evaluate the relationship between the literary text and imagery during this period, and provides a new insight into the creative impulses behind the writing of the Waverley novels. Contrary to Scott's apparent opinion that image was reliant on, and subservient to, the written word, his own working practices of using imagery during the writing process underlines the fact that there was, in fact, no absolute hierarchical relationship between the two. Neither text nor image can claim artistic authority or authenticity over the other. This is underlined by Scott's consistent interaction with illustrated publications, including travel literature and antiquarian texts, throughout his writing career: he was happy, often enthusiastic, to get involved with picture-book projects from the early 1800s. Correspondence between the two men reveals Scott's familiarity with the processes, markets, and logistical and financial complexities, of producing illustrated literature in the early nineteenth century.

“The Death of the Laird's Jock”

Chapter 2 will discuss the market for the popular illustrated gift-book, such as *The Literary Souvenir*, *The Gem* and *The Keepsakes*, in greater depth, but a useful starting point for the discussion of Scott's understanding of literary illustration is a contribution he made to one of these annuals in particular, the *Keepsake of 1829*. This short story, “The Death of the Laird's Jock”, contains passages which clearly outline how Scott understood the function and relationship of the illustration with its corresponding text. Only a few pages long, it tells the tragic story of a border dispute between English and Scottish tribes during the Elizabethan period, and the death of a Scottish chieftain who dies from shock and sorrow at the death of his son. Of importance to this thesis, however, are the brief passages which frame the narrative. Scott opens the story with the following introduction.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE KEEPSAKE.

You have asked me, sir, to point out a subject for the pencil... But although ... poetry and painting both address themselves to the same object of exciting the human imagination, by presenting to it pleasing or sublime images of ideal scenes—yet the one conveying itself through the ears to the understanding, and the other applying itself only to the eyes, the subjects which are best suited to the bard or tale-teller are often totally unfit for painting, where the artist must present in a single glance all that his art has power to tell us. The artist can neither recapitulate the past nor intimate the

future. The single NOW is all which he can present; and hence, unquestionably, many subjects which delight us in poetry or in narrative, whether real or fictitious, cannot with advantage be transferred to the canvas.

Being in some degree aware of these difficulties... I have, nevertheless, ventured to draw up the following traditional narrative as a story in which, when the general details are known, the interest is so much concentrated in one strong moment of agonizing passion, that it can be understood and sympathized with at a single glance.⁸

Two phrases stand out here, “the single NOW” and “one strong moment of agonizing passion”. With this passage, Scott was addressing a wider discussion which faced artists in the early nineteenth century. This argument revolved around the temporality of narrative in history painting; as Martin Meisel has articulated, history painters in particular were concerned about the subversion of the realism of the scene they were presenting, due to their need to provide a narrative context within the image.⁹ As Meisel argues, a story requires time in order to be told; it requires time in order to represent a “change of state in material or psychological reality”.¹⁰ How was an artist to express narrative context, when an image is, by its nature, confined to the expression of a “single now”? The claim Scott makes with “The Death of the Laird’s Jock” is that the image *is* limited in its ability to tell a story, due to its restriction to a single time and place. In this way, the narrative function of the authorial voice, which mediates the distance between past and present, is removed, and the subsequent illusion is of a “single now”. Scott’s use of the framed narrative, in which the narrator and the editor help relate historical events through a modern narrative voice, cannot be translated to the canvas, and therefore, the image has to rely on the text for its full historical context and explanation. In this sense, Scott is correct, the illustration *is* restricted to a single moment, which is an advantage that the text has over the image. However, the claim made here is also slightly disingenuous. Of all novelists up to that point, few had created more “single” moments of “agonizing passion” in their fiction than Scott. These take the form of still-lives, figurative moments frozen in time which Scott describes pictorially for the reader. As Richard Altick points out, Scott’s novels “were more replete with extended natural descriptions – paintings in words – than were those

⁸ Scott, Walter, “The Death of the Laird’s Jock”, *The Keepsake of 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance & Co., 1829), p. 186.

⁹ Martin Meisel, *Realizations*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

of any other novelist".¹¹ An example of such a description is the moment in "The Death of the Laird's Jock" which the illustration (fig. 1 below) portrays.

He seemed for an instant animated by all his wonted power; for he started from the rock on which he sat, and while the garments with which he had been invested fell from his wasted frame, and showed the ruins of his strength, he tossed his arms wildly to heaven, and uttered a cry of indignation, horror, and despair, which, tradition says, was heard to a preternatural distance, and resembled the cry of a dying lion more than a human sound.¹²

It was from such static literary tableaux that any number of illustrations and paintings of the Waverley novels emanated throughout the nineteenth century. William Allan's first illustrations of the novels, intended for the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* in 1819, visualize precisely such descriptions, and were designed under the personal guidance of Scott himself.¹³ These highly visual descriptions hint at Scott's awareness of the potential representation of his scenes in other, visual forms, in particular, the theatre and illustration.¹⁴ In the introduction to "The Death of the Laird's Jock", Scott is attempting to claim narrative authority for the text; however, his use of imagery during the writing of the novels, particularly through his friend Skene, and his subsequent immersion in the visual cultures of the theatre and illustrated literature, subvert this argument, and give a clearer, truer picture of the reciprocal relationship between the visual and the literary during this period.

The introduction to "The Death of the Laird's Jock" provides an invaluable insight into Scott's understanding of contemporary history painting and illustration, and it is a theme which he had visited previously in the introductory chapter to *The Bride of Lammermoor* in 1819. In that chapter, he introduced a fictional painter called Dick Tinto, whose dramatic drawing of a scene in an Elizabethan hall (another example of a "strong moment of agonizing passion") forms the foundation of the story which is then narrated through his friend, the landlord Peter Pattieson. Chapter 5 will deal more

¹¹ Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books*, p. 69.

¹² Walter Scott, "Death of the Laird's Jock", p. 191.

¹³ For Allan's illustrations for the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, see catalogue section 1. Chapter 5 will discuss the creation of these illustrations, and Scott's specific role in them, in greater depth.

¹⁴ For example, while writing *The Heart of Midlothian* in early 1818, Scott had in mind the idea that Daniel Terry would have the first opportunity of adapting the story for the stage. Chapter 4 will discuss the subsequent visual recreation by Alexander Nasmyth of *The Heart of Midlothian* for Terry's production in 1819, and also Scott's advice on precisely how he should then illustrate the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales*. For Nasmyth's illustrations for the Waverley novels between 1821 and 1825, see catalogue sections 2 to 4.

specifically with this chapter, and with the theory that Tinto was loosely based on the artist William Allan, but at this point it does demonstrate a certain consistency in the way Scott felt about illustration. Scott understood such an illustration, that is, a dramatic or narrative moment, as a modern audience would understand a photograph: it is a snap-shot, requiring textual support to be fully comprehended by the viewer. It is a single moment caught in time, the impact of which is immediate but undermined without literary contextualization. Just as Tinto's drawing in the *Bride of Lammermoor* requires a story to be built around it in order for it to be fully understood by the viewer, so Scott points out here the limitations of the image in relating a fully developed narrative. Importantly, he does *not* dismiss illustration. While he is attempting to assert the dominance of text over image, in fact Scott's fiction increasingly reflects the reciprocity of image and text in the early modern culture of the mass-media, both artistically and commercially. This reciprocity is revealed in the way he conceived scenes visually in the novels, as will be discussed, and in the way he began to construct his narratives with the knowledge that the developing Waverley industry would reproduce his locations and characters in the visual medium.

In Scott's mind, however, his texts took priority over the illustrations they were engendering. "The Death of the Laird's Jock" is an example of Scott attempting, in his fiction, to check the growing fashion for engravings amongst the publishing industry that was beginning to dilute the centrality of the texts in the popular literary annuals at this time (the late 1820s). Having been asked by the editor of the *Keepsake*, Frederick Reynolds, to contribute a piece suitable for illustration, Scott developed a short story which could be communicated in a single image. However, the final product does bear out the fact that, without the text, the image would be indecipherable. The most interesting passage appears at the end of the story, in which he instructs the illustrator, within the fabric of the narrative, how he should illustrate the story.

I conceive that the moment when the disabled chief was roused into a last exertion by the agony of the moment is favourable to the object of a painter. He might obtain the full advantage of contrasting the form of the rugged old man, in the extremity of furious despair, with the softness and beauty of the female form. The fatal field might be thrown into perspective, so as to give full effect to these two principal figures, and with the single explanation that the piece represented a soldier beholding his son slain, and the honour of his country lost, the picture would be sufficiently intelligible at the first glance. If it was thought necessary to show more clearly the nature of the conflict, it

might be indicated by the pennon of Saint George being displayed at one end of the lists, and that of Saint Andrew at the other.¹⁵

Scott has understood the compositional requirements of popular contemporary historical painting, and attempted to construct his story accordingly. He has a clear vision in his own mind of how the illustration should be constructed, and it is therefore interesting to note that the illustrator, Henry Corbould, followed his instructions to the letter.

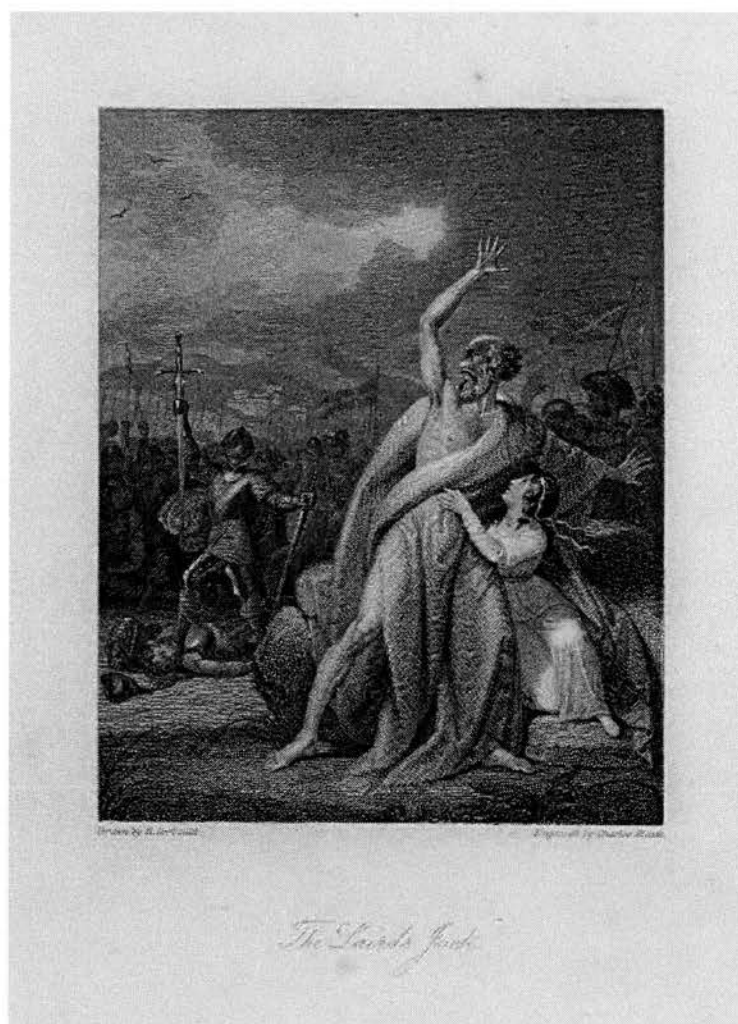


Fig.1. Henry Corbould, "The Laird's Jock", for *The Keepsake of 1829*.

For the first time, Scott's *fiction* becomes inseparable from the accompanying illustration. In the text, the illustration was bound precisely opposite the passage it portrays, the moment the old chieftain cries out at the death of his son. Corbould has even included the Scottish and English flags as instructed by the author, and the protagonists are dressed precisely as Scott describes. This is a crucial point in

¹⁵ Scott, Walter, "The Death of the Laird's Jock", p. 192.

understanding Scott's prerequisites in a suitable illustration: throughout his career, he consistently insisted on the accurate rendering of the antiquarian and topographical aspects of his narrative, including characters' mannerisms, antiquarian objects, architecture, and above all, costume. In this way, such illustrations became historical, diagrammatic records of antiquarian objects and costumes, as much as narrative augmentations to the texts. Towards this end, he favoured artists and illustrators who understood and often shared these national, historical and antiquarian concerns, artists like Allan, Alexander Nasmyth, John Thomson of Duddingston, James Skene, David Wilkie, Charles Leslie, Abraham Cooper and Edward Blore. Illustrations to his work, particularly his novels, were not merely decorative, they performed documentary, ethnological and antiquarian functions, and he disapproved of those artists, usually (though not exclusively) English, who neglected such duties to their source material. This thesis will go on to demonstrate what is meant by "suitable illustration", but to paraphrase, Scott wanted illustrations, and illustrators, who were comfortable with faithfully portraying the subject matter as it was expressed in his literature. In other words, as with Allan and Nasmyth, he only wanted illustrators who paid attention to the idiosyncratic details of landscape, costume and ethnological peculiarities of the characters and locations in his stories which he himself strove to communicate through his fiction. It is a mistake to think that Scott was ever "indifferent" to art, or to illustration; rather, he wanted to ensure that his illustrators were as respectful to the source material as possible, and he exercised as much authorial control over the illustration of his work as possible during his career.

The "Death of the Laird's Jock" is a prime example of ensuring that his illustrator had no excuse to misrepresent his story. Scott wanted to exert his influence over his illustrators as far as possible. There are examples of this throughout his writing career, from his very first poem through to the enormous project of the *Magnum Opus*, Robert Cadell's important collected, complete edition of the Waverley novels (1829-33). From 1803, when he considered having *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* illustrated by the English artist John J. Masquerier, through his involvement with Nasmyth's illustrations for the *Novels and Tales* in 1821 (the first collected, illustrated edition of the novels from *Waverley* to *The Legend of Montrose*), and finally to his insistence on proofing the plates for the *Magnum* before they were published, Scott was always involved, where

possible, in the illustration of his work.¹⁶ It was a question of exerting control over how his work was presented in the visual medium, and he only approved of illustrators he felt understood and respected the subjects they were portraying. He was also not averse to giving advice to such artists when sought. Abraham Cooper was one example. In 1826, while completing a commission for the Duke of Bedford of a scene in the Scottish Borders, he wrote to Scott to ask his advice on items he was considering using in the composition. Scott wrote back with the following advice.

I had ... to look at one or two authorities to enable me to answer the query it contains. The result is that though the drum was certainly no border instrument of music as their military service was almost entirely on horseback yet it may with propriety be introduced especially if you chuse to introduce a foot soldier or two who may [be] supposed a part of the body guard of the Warden and would contrast with the appearance of the borderers. Grose's antiquities have plenty of examples of the Costume of Queen Elizabeth's military. There are also some curious prints which I caused to be inserted in Derricks Picture of Ireland which I reprinted in the first volume of Somers' Tracts. They are particularly desirous as shewing the ancient Irish costume which though not of use in the present picture may be useful were you ever to employ your powerful pencil in an ancient Irish subject.¹⁷

This is an important letter when considering Scott's involvement with the illustrated texts of the period. He wrote many letters to artists like this one, in which he was very specific about the costumes involved: as an antiquarian and local historian, he was particularly concerned that his ancestors and their customs were portrayed with a degree of historical accuracy. He expected his illustrators to do the same, and preferred those who listened to his advice and respected the period details in question. As important here, though, is the reference to the costume books, particularly Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* (1797) and "Derricks Picture of Ireland" to which Scott actually helped contribute illustrations.¹⁸ This refutes any suggestion that Scott was uninterested in book illustration, and supports the theory that he understood illustration as a useful, instructive *subsidiary* form to the written text, which translated to the

¹⁶ However, this only extended to his influence over the Edinburgh publications – Constable's London partners appeared to be free to illustrate the texts as they saw fit. Logistical complexities and market influences which dictated the illustration of the London editions of the Waverley novels will be discussed in chapter 2.

¹⁷ Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*. 12 Vols. Ed. H. J. C. Grierson. (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1933), 10:98.

¹⁸ Sam Smiles, in *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain 1770-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), describes how Grose "was perhaps the first antiquarian to publish popular, illustrated surveys of the historic record, and his example inspired others in increasing numbers." Scott's familiarity with this edition, amongst many others, highlights his familiarity with publications in which illustration formed an important instructive, pedagogical supplement to the written word.

illustration of his own novels. However, his involvement with “Derrick’s Picture of Ireland” also subverts his own view of illustration because, in this case, it is imagery which is informing the written word. Scott’s reference to antiquarian illustration in this instance actually supports the premise that literature and imagery were involved in a symbiotic relationship in the early nineteenth century, alternately feeding and complimenting each other in various published genres, rather than forming any hierarchical relationship.

“The Death of the Laird’s Jock” provides the clearest articulation of Scott’s insistence on the narrative dominance of text over image, on the limitations, as he saw it, of imagery in narrating a story without textual support, and he chose to articulate this view in the most illustrated of periodicals to that date, the gift-book. Scott appropriated what he needed from the visual arts to augment his novels with illustrations which reflected his antiquarian and topographical interests. In this way, the Waverley illustrations can be seen as subservient to the narratives, but this is not representative of the wider reciprocal relationship of literature and the visual arts at this time, nor of Scott’s use of imagery in constructing his narratives. His claim is therefore slightly disingenuous. He was keen to use the educational aspects of book illustration, which emphasised the peculiarities of national and historical costume, landscape and architecture in accordance with his own antiquarian interests and expertise. However, if Scott saw illustration as subservient to the text, as a functional tool to visualise the idiosyncrasies of national costume, architecture and landscapes as they appeared in his novels, his relationship with the artist James Skene provides evidence that, on at least several occasions, it was often imagery which provided the creative spur to the written word.

James Skene

A comment made by one of Scott’s earliest London illustrators, the American artist Charles Leslie, in a letter to his countryman Washington Allston in 1819, outlines a problem which faced artists in trying to illustrate the Waverley novels. He wrote, “I have heard that you are making some designs from Sir Walter Scott’s novels. They afford excellent material, though the picturesque scenes with which they abound are almost too highly finished by the author to leave anything for the painter to do but

merely follow him, which is some disadvantage.”¹⁹ In other words, Scott’s proficiency in creating verbal pictures actually forestalled illustration. An examination of Scott’s friendship with the amateur artist James Skene of Rubislaw helps us to understand, in greater depth, how Scott was able to visualise scenes with such apparent clarity, and to place imagery firmly amongst the other textual and physical resources to which he referred during the writing process.

Skene is often mentioned parenthetically in relation to Scott. They were close friends for most of their lives, and rode through the Borders together whenever they could, allowing Skene to sketch landscapes and incidents while Scott sat next to him recounting local tales and legends. Skene is most often referred to as one of the chief artistic consultants in the construction of Abbotsford, a member of the so-called “committee of taste” with Edward Blore and Daniel Terry, all friends to whom Scott referred in matters of picturesque taste and the aesthetic design of his home.²⁰ However, an analysis of the correspondence between Scott and Skene reveals much about Scott’s use of imagery in writing descriptive passages and evoking national landscapes. It also demonstrates Scott’s under-appreciated grasp of the markets for, and complexities of, illustrated literature from the beginning of his literary career.

Firstly, it is necessary to concentrate on a claim made by Skene in his autobiographical recollections of his relationship with Scott, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*. This text, only edited and published in 1909 by Basil Thomson from Skene’s papers in the National Library of Scotland, must be treated with caution, given the uncertainty surrounding the dates it was written and the clarity of Skene’s memories. However, the following claim about influence of his sketches on Scott’s creative imagination is significant.

Many of the real localities of the Waverley Novels were connected with my collection of drawings, of which a part had been taken *at his suggestion*, many during the various excursions we had made together, and not a few in countries where Sir Walter never had been, though he had taken the descriptions from the drawings I possessed. The idea occurred to him that a collection of these ‘Localities’ might be found interesting, and he therefore recommended me to undertake it. It was so arranged as to come

¹⁹ Quoted from Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books, Art and Literature in Britain, 1760-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), p. 426.

²⁰ For a discussion of Abbotsford as an aestheticised, Romantic interior, see Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750-1850*, (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

out simultaneously with each volume of the new series of the novels [the *Magnum Opus* edition], in which he gives an introductory account of each, and as he had previously communicated with me as to the identity of the subjects to be etched, their appearance obtained the advantage of perfect authenticity, and that before any person could be aware of the subjects which were applicable. . . .²¹ [My italics]

This is a bold claim to make, particularly given the absence of the author to challenge it. At first reading, the claims that his *drawings* directly influenced the creation of some of the Waverley novels' localities appear, at best, unlikely, particularly having read "The Death of the Laird's Jock". If imagery is forming part of the source material from which Scott is writing, Skene's statement challenges Scott's assertion in "The Death of the Laird's Jock" of the primacy of text over image, and as such, it needs to be examined. Skene's *Memories* should perhaps be treated with some scepticism, particularly given the iconising of the author and his life in the early Victorian period. As Nicholas Jagger has pointed out, this iconising process began immediately following Scott's death with his obituaries, and was cemented firstly by Lockhart's flattering biography and then by the construction of the Scott monument in Edinburgh.²² Skene's recollections fit neatly into this sentimentalised, sanitised record of Scott's life, and his own role in it. The *Memories* contribute to the creation of the Scott myth, fitting precisely into the early Victorian model of the author as propounded by Lockhart. Describing the rides he took into the Border countryside with Scott, for example, the following passage helps perpetuate Scott the myth as much as Scott the author.

The beauty of the scenery gave full employment to my pencil, with the free and frequent exercise of which he never seemed to feel impatient, for he was ready and willing at all times to alight where any scene attracted our notice, and set himself down beside me on the braeside to con over some appropriate ballad, or narrate the traditions of the glen, and sometimes, but rarely, to note in his book some passing ideas, for in general his memory²³ was the great storehouse on which he confidently relied for all occasions.

Similar general statements such as this are difficult to substantiate, but circumstantial evidence does exist to corroborate some of Skene's claims. First, there is Scott's dedication to Skene in the introduction to the fourth canto of *Marmion* (1808), in which he reminisces over their trips to the country, during which Skene "with pencil, I

²¹ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 157.

²² Nicholas Jagger, "The Iconising of Walter Scott", *Representing Victorian Lives*, ed. Martin Hewitt (Leeds: Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, 1999).

²³ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 30-31.

with pen/The features traced of hill and glen".²⁴ Evidence also exists in Scott's journal and correspondence of such horse rides into the Borders. One example is a trip the two men made together to Langholm in 1806. During this visit to the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, according to Skene, they witnessed an otter hunt which directly influenced a scene in *Guy Mannerling*.²⁵ In fact, a letter from Scott to Lady Dalkeith in the spring of 1806 does confirm Skene's presence during this last visit to Langholm in 1806, and hints at the fact that Scott wanted him to sketch the surroundings.

I certainly hope to pay my respects at Langholm—perhaps to bring with me my friend Mr. Skene of Rubislaw an amiable & accomplished young man & for a gentleman the best draughtsman I ever saw. I wish him to take a peer at Hermitage etc. Lord Dalkeith was so good as to say I might use the freedom to bring him to Langholm.²⁶

Such evidence lends credence to the theory that Skene was present with Scott on such tours of the countryside, ready to sketch scenes which were suggested by Scott. Similarly, assertions Skene makes about Scott's use of his drawings in the writing process of the Waverley novels can to an extent be substantiated by correspondence between them from as early as 1805, and by circumstantial evidence. It is true that Scott did occasionally request Skene to sketch scenes of historical or topographical interest. For example, on 6 January 1813, he wrote to Skene:

I wish you much to make a little sketch for me of the ruinous fort and landing-place at Netley Abbey, with which I was particularly struck, more so indeed than with the ruins themselves, though so very finely situated and accompanied. But the character of the sand fort and landing-place had to me something very original.²⁷

Scott was also keen to encourage Skene's habit of collecting documents and taking sketches during his travels, particularly in those places he was unlikely to visit himself. In the autumn of 1820, for example, Skene set off on a tour of Europe, on which he was encouraged by Scott to make drawings of the scenery: "...I hope you will not fail to add to your stock of drawings whatever memorables may occur in your travels".²⁸ Skene returned (it is unclear precisely when) with a journal and a large

²⁴ Walter Scott, *Marmion. A Tale of Flodden Field. And Occasional Poems*, (New York: C. S. Francis, 1845), p. 152. Scott dedicates the fourth canto to his friend of "eleven years". As *Marmion* was published in 1808, this places the beginning of their friendship around 1797.

²⁵ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 38.

²⁶ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 1:301.

²⁷ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 3:214.

²⁸ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 6:264.

collection of drawings which, according to Lockhart, were placed at Scott's disposal while he was writing his French novel, *Quentin Durward* (1823).

... he was encouraged and strengthened by the return of his friend Skene, about this time, from a tour in France; in the course of which he had kept an accurate and lively journal, and executed a vast variety of clever drawings, representing landscapes and ancient buildings, such as would have been most sure to interest Scott had he been the companion of his wanderings. Mr Skene's MS. collections were placed his disposal, and he took from one of their chapters the substance of the *original* Introduction to *Quentin Durward*. ... I remember observing him many times in the Advocates' Library poring over maps and gazetteers with care and anxiety.²⁹

It is unclear precisely to what extent Skene's sketches influenced Scott's imagination in writing *Quentin Durward*. However, this apparent pattern of imagery firing Scott's imagination is repeated a few years later when he personally requested a sketch from Skene to help him in writing a passage of *Anne of Geierstein* (1829). Skene had recently undertaken another trip to Europe, travelling through Switzerland and taking copious notes and sketches of his experiences. Skene's subsequent claim that Scott based his descriptive passages on his own sketches and journal can be corroborated.

He had never been either in Switzerland or those parts of ancient Burgundy where the remainder of the scenery of that work is placed, but he availed himself of the drawings which my collections afforded him, and the knowledge of the country that I was able to give him.³⁰

Scott's use of Skene's topographical sketches of scenery helps to explain the apparent success with which he evokes the landscape in *Anne of Geierstein*. When Lockhart visited Scott in December 1828, he was presented with a volume and a half of the manuscript of this novel. James Stuart of Allanbank, and John Morritt, both of whom were present, were astonished at the accuracy with which Scott had rendered the Swiss scenery: "All were highly gratified with those vivid and picturesque pages,--and both Morritt and Steuart [sic], being familiar with the scenery of Switzerland, could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the felicity with which he had divined its peculiar character, and outdone, by the force of his imagination, all the efforts of a thousand actual tourists".³¹ A letter from Scott to Skene on 26 December 1828

²⁹ John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black), p. 529-30.

³⁰ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 155-56.

³¹ John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, p. 694.

confirms the fact that he had in fact used Skene's sketches in rendering the Swiss scenery, which he had never seen for himself.

If you can easily bring with you the striking description of the subterranean vaults at Baden (I think supposed to be the place of meeting of the secret tribunal) with your plan and drawings, they will do me yeoman's service in something I am now about.³²

It would seem, therefore, that Scott did use Skene's sketches as *aide memoirs* in the writing process, even if Skene's original claim that "Many of the real localities of the Waverley Novels were connected with my collection of drawings" should be treated with caution. Although this assertion may be overstating his case, there is enough evidence to suggest that imagery, topographical drawings of national scenery and architecture, played its part in the writing of the Waverley novels. Skene acted as a kind of research assistant to Scott, recording idiosyncrasies of landscapes and architecture to help Scott render scenes with the greatest possible plausibility. The image was therefore a primary source material for Scott, undermining his claim in "The Death of the Laird's Jock" of the primacy of the written word over the image, and supporting the hypothesis that image and text enjoyed a symbiotic relationship in which each was informed and supported by the other. As Jagger points out, "Scott's own [writing] process was, like that of most authors, a bricoleuring; an assemblage of historical sources, such as anecdote, folk-tale, oral poetry and chronicle, carried out with a keen Romantic sensibility".³³ Closer examination of Scott's relationship with Skene, however, reveals that imagery can be added to that "bricoleuring", combining in Scott's creative imagination with his extensive textual research.

Drawings, engravings and paintings can be added to the other well documented objects and texts which excited his imagination. David Hewitt, in the introduction to the recently published *Reliquiae Trotcosienses* (Scott's semi-fictional guide to Abbotsford and its collections), describes the relationship between Scott's collections of antiquarian objects (or "gabions") and the creative impulse to his historical fiction: repeatedly, these artefacts appear as "springboards for story, starting points from which whole fictional worlds may be created".³⁴ Skene's sketches fall into the same category,

³² Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 11:79.

³³ Nicholas Jagger, "The Iconising of Walter Scott", p. 102.

³⁴ Walter Scott, *Reliquiae Trotcosienses, or the Gabions of the Late Jonathan Oldbuck Esq. of Monkbarns*, ed. Gerard Carruthers and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. xv.

and, while not overstating the importance of imagery in the writing process, it must be recognised as another legitimate “springboard” for Scott’s imagination. His use of imagery in *writing* the novel may help to explain his subsequent openness to the illustration of those novels by his publishers, and, as I will discuss, his own efforts to have Skene’s collection of drawings published. Scott was immersed in a highly visual culture, a culture which was increasingly encroaching on popular literature, and he was quick to embrace it as a commercial advantage to the distribution of his novels, as well as educative artistic embellishment. From his correspondence with Skene, we can also see how this culture informed the author during the writing of the Waverley novels. We can understand from his semi-professional working relationship with Skene how Scott was able to evoke national landscapes and architecture with such apparent accuracy, referring to visual media in order to render physical scenes through the written word. Scott’s ability to incorporate textual references, his immense academic research into the periods with which he was concerned, and his almost photographic memory are well recorded. His use of the visual media has been less well recorded, however, and it remains a crucial component in understanding how he constructed scenes in his novels. Images often both preceded *and* succeeded the text, and Skene appears to have served on occasion as a research assistant, gathering visual information on aspects of landscape and architecture at Scott’s request, in order to help him construct passages in the novels which so convinced his readership.

Artistic reciprocity and authorial control

If Scott benefited from Skene’s hard work and travels, he certainly reciprocated in kind. The “Localities” mentioned above by Skene was in fact *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels* (1829). This project was proposed by Scott to Skene in an effort to benefit the artist with advanced knowledge of the publication of the *Magnum*. We can see Scott, not for the first time, attempting to use his own fame to help his friends. He proposed to write accompanying textual accounts of each engraving, which he himself had identified as suitable subjects. This information provides an invaluable guide to those localities Scott had in mind for specific scenes in the Waverley novels, again underlining the strength of their friendship, and Skene’s unique position of complicity in the creative fabric of the Waverley novels. Letters from Scott to Skene during this period provide Scott scholars

with clear references of those localities of which Scott was thinking, while also revealing that, in many instances, Scott was not envisaging a *specific* place or building, but a certain *type* of subject which correlated to regional or historical prototypes. For instance, in a letter to Skene regarding the precise Waverley locations to be included in Charles Tilt's London publication, the *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1830), Scott wrote, "I do not believe these English folks can tell what Castles I meant, since I do not know them myself".³⁵ However, a letter sent to Skene on 31 July, 1829, explains with greater clarity the mixture of actual localities and imagined scenes described in *Old Mortality* (1816) and *The Black Dwarf* (1816) perfectly.

I did not think on Craignethan in writing about Tillietudlem [from *Old Mortality*], and I believe it differs in several respects from my *chateau en Espagne*. It is not on the Clyde in particular, and if I recollect, the view is limited and wooded. But there can be no objection to adopting it as that which public taste has adopted as coming nearest to the ideal of the place.

Of the places in the *Black Dwarf*, Meicklestane Moor, Ellisla[w], Earnscliff are all and each *vox et praeterea nihil*. Westburnflat is or was a real spot—now there is no subject for the pencil the vestiges of a town at the junction of two wild brooks with a rude hillside are all that are subjects for the pencil, and they are very poor ones. Earnscliff and Ganderscleugh are also visions. ...

Rob Roy has some good and real subjects, as the peep at Lochhard, the beautiful fall at Ledear near the head of the lake. Let me know all you desire to be informed about without fear of bothering.³⁶

This advice was given in response to a request for information on specific scenes Scott had identified for Skene to illustrate for the *Localities*, and it was advice that placed Skene in a privileged position. With his experience of riding with Scott, his knowledge of the areas with which Scott was familiar, and the advice he received for the abortive *Localities* project (abandoned after the first of the two volumes due to the heavy workload placed on Skene), he became the perfect consultant for Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations*, which succeeded commercially where Skene and Scott failed. The editor acknowledged the contributions of Scott and Skene in the second edition preface: "These Illustrations were undertaken with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Walter Scott; and owe much of their success to the judgement and taste of his accomplished friend, James Skene, Esq., to whom the Editor is under great obligation

³⁵ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 11:331, 12 April 1830.

³⁶ Sir Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 11:223-4.

for considerable aid from his pen and pencil.”³⁷ This story of success with illustrated publications in London, where Edinburgh publications had failed, was not isolated, as chapters 2 and 3 will discuss. However, here it is important to stress Scott’s vision for the project. The *Localities* was his idea, an attempt to help his friend make money by exploiting the new publication of his own work, and it demonstrates an awareness of the market for a certain type of illustrated publication which was flourishing in middle-class Edinburgh and London at the time.³⁸

With his conception of the *Localities*, Scott had anticipated the type of publication which found so much success after his death in 1832, volumes of illustrations which were supplemental to the latest editions of his novels, images which were meant to be bound by the individual readers into the appropriate sections of the novels. One of the largest projects of this kind was the *Landscape Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (London: Fischer & Co., 1836-38), but the first successful attempts at supplemental illustration had been the small volumes containing Nasmyth’s and Allan’s first designs for the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1821) published by Constable in Edinburgh with Scott’s involvement. Allan’s twelve designs and title page vignette were published separately from the novels in *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820), while Nasmyth’s, which appeared bound into the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales*, were also sold separately in the same format. Scott’s idea for Skene’s *Localities* not only reveals his understanding of the commercial power of illustration in the market place which his work had begun to engender from the early 1820s, but it anticipated the success of future London publications.

The *Localities* was not the first time that Scott had personally conceived, planned, and almost successfully facilitated an illustrated publication with Skene however. A letter from Scott to his friend the Rev. Edward Forster in London on 29 March 1805 outlines a project he had conceived for Skene’s journal drawings from a recent trip to Europe.

The plan of the work is—that it shall be published in detached Numbers (four etchings in each) with perhaps a sheet or more of letter press to each

³⁷ *Landscape Illustrations of the Novels of the Author of Waverley, With Portraits of the Principal Female Characters*, Vols. I-III (Charles Tilt, London, 1833).

³⁸ Chapter 2 will examine in greater detail the markets for illustrated texts, particularly the discrepancies in demand and output between Edinburgh and London in the 1810s and 20s.

view—this last will be my concern & I will endeavour to make them as interesting as possible, by translations from the Sicilian poetry, historical anecdotes, account of manners &c. Mr. Skene has kept an admirable journal but declines publishing it for many reasons. In particular the great expence necessary to finish so many etchings is of itself an absolute bar to publishing the whole at once; of course I will transfer every thing from it that is interesting.

As to finishing the etchings Mr. Skene wishes them to be executed in the best possible stile & I believe most artists think it necessary to finish some parts with the graver in order to produce the full effect: but so that the Artist *does justice* to the drawings he may take his own way of doing it & calculate his price accordingly. We will be very happy to have one etched as a specimen.³⁹

This letter is significant for several reasons. The first reason is the date. Written in the year Scott published his first poetical success, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), it signifies that at the very beginning of his career as a writer of fiction, he was interested in illustration. Although this proposed work was not for the illustration of his poetry, he had already been considering Masquerier as an illustrator for the *Lay* (this didn't materialise, due to Scott's dissatisfaction with the designs Masquerier produced). However, it does denote Scott's anticipation of another illustrated publication which achieved its greatest commercial success in the 1810s, the illustrated travel guide. As Skene himself describes in the *Memories*, this particular project was not realised, again due to the expense and lack of quality resources available in Edinburgh at the time, but Scott does appear to have consistently encouraged the project later on: "although after years, when the taste for publications of that class had become a little more prevalent, Sir Walter frequently recurred to the idea, and with a view to its success was willing to add the now effective aid of his pen, it was never put into practice."⁴⁰

Secondly, this letter reveals Scott's desire to exert some control over the whole engraving process, from the initial drawings to final publication. Although nominally speaking *for* Skene here, his suggestion that a specimen be produced for proofing was in fact a practice that Scott insisted on throughout his career, where his Edinburgh publications were concerned. This will be discussed later, but correspondence between Scott and Skene concerning this project reveals a working practice with illustrators in which Scott was consistent throughout his life. It seems it was Scott, rather than Skene,

³⁹ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 1:244-5.

⁴⁰ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 23.

who was unhappy with the quality of engravings which Forster returned. He wrote to Skene with the following criticisms:

Dear Skene,--I enclose you what Forster calls and I think a poor impression of the drawing. The background seems almost effaced, and the cows in the front look like rabbits. I think, however, the manner, independent of the execution, conveys some notion of your style.⁴¹

Problems with quality of engraving and expense forestalled the plans to publish Skene's drawings, problems which were to thwart several such projects over the next twenty years.⁴² It did not discourage Scott from further projects for Skene, however. Another letter to Skene, regarding Scott's attempts to publish Skene's journal and illustrations of his European travels in 1816, not only underlines his desire to publish Skene's sketches in the tradition of the contemporary illustrated travel guides of Europe and the British Isles, but also demonstrates his clear grasp of the logistical and financial complexities of the engraving and publishing processes.

Mr Dear Skene,--I would long since have written to you on the subject of your journal, but I waited for Constable's return from London. He seems well disposed to enter into the transaction upon the footing of his taking upon him the whole risk and expense and dividing the full profits. To understand this, however, you must be aware that first the publisher subtracts from the gross sum about £27 or £28 per cent. as the allowance to the retail booksellers, so that the calculation is made upon what they call sale price. From what remains there is deducted the expenses of print, paper, engraving, etc., and something in the way of incidents or advertising. All these, speaking roughly, come to more than a third of the gross amount, the rest is considered free profit and divisible. Upon the best calculation I can make, and author gains generally about one-sixth part of the whole, or half a guinea upon three guineas. I believe upon the whole it is the fairest mode of transacting business, and at present, when capital is ill to be come at, it is perhaps the only eligible one.

But the most difficult thing is to arrange the mode in which the engravings are to be executed, which I need not tell you I am totally ignorant of. Stroke engraving is intolerably expensive, and one is by no means sure of having it executed well even by employing the best engravers and paying the highest price. These gentlemen's temptation to make money is so great that they do not hesitate to employ their pupils on works to which they give their own name. Constable seems to incline to a sort of etching or *aqua tinta* affair, which looks showy enough and can be executed, he says, for five or six guineas a plate. As I wish you to judge for yourself, I caused him to send you a copy of Sir George Mackenzie's *Travels [in the Island of*

⁴¹ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 1:255.

⁴² Chapters 2 and 3 will outline the problems facing Constable, and subsequently Cadell, in trying to illustrate Scott from Edinburgh, when the best resources for illustration were clearly based in London.

Iceland during the summer of the year 1810, Edinburgh, 1811] as a specimen of the style in which he thinks your journal should be published. He proposes one edition of five hundred copies of one of the volumes should be published, and would prefer the Tour through Sicily and Malta, though I believe he would take either you recommend.⁴³

This letter provides several useful insights into the publication of illustrated literature at this point in time. First, it confirms Scott's proactive participation in this field of publishing, using his own publisher to promote Skene's work in the style of the type of illustrated guide with which he was familiar (Mackenzie's *Travels*). Secondly, it gives an account of the large financial risks and modest rewards to be made on such a venture, for the artist and the publisher, and the complex division of labour and financing that was required in producing the final product (printing, paper, engraving and advertising). Having negotiated these requirements, the artist is not left with a huge percentage from which to profit, having had the publisher's fee subtracted. The pre-eminence of copper-engraving (despite Scott's assertion that Constable preferred aquatint engraving, he invariably published work with line engraving on copper) before the mid-1820s meant that only limited numbers of prints (500 in this case) could be produced from the soft copperplates, pushing the market price higher and therefore discouraging a large number of sales. It also outlines a problem which was to dog Constable and Cadell in illustrating Scott's work, the cost and quality of the engraving process. Chapters 2 and 3 will demonstrate these problems and how they were addressed by each publisher, but here, it provides another reason why Skene was relatively indifferent about having his work published. In fact, so concerned was he by the engravers' efforts that, for the *Localities*, he resolved to etch his own work. However, the most important fact this letter demonstrates is Scott's grasp of the publishing and engraving process of illustrated literature. His knowledge was gleaned from his working relationship with Constable, and after 1826 with Cadell, and it supports the theory that Scott was consistently involved in the economic, practical issues and discussions of book-illustration. This theory is strengthened by his consistent attempts to publish Skene's work over subsequent years, despite constant failure. In 1820, for example, they were conspiring to produce an illustrated, historical guide through Edinburgh called the *Antiquitates Reekianae*, "a joint undertaking of Sir Walter's and mine, illustrative of the ancient history, manners and antiquities of

⁴³ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 4:163-5. Dated 7 January 1816.

Edinburgh".⁴⁴ Scott submitted Skene's drawings to Constable, and had apparently got as far as having plates produced, but again, the project never materialised.⁴⁵

The timing of the proposed *Antiquitates* is important: Scott had by this time gained much practical experience of producing similar historical and topographical illustrated guides with his textual work for *The Border Antiquities of England* (1814) and *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1819-26). Also, he was using his knowledge, experience and contacts in the trade to promote Skene at precisely the moment that Constable was attempting to publish the first ever illustrated, collected edition of the Waverley novels, the *Novel and Tales*. As with the planned travel guide from 1805, it was an idea he never fully gave up, but one that was destined never to be published. Nonetheless, it again serves to demonstrate Scott's consistent readiness to explore the avenue of the illustrated text, not only for the benefit of his friend (an important factor), but as a legitimate artistic attempt to combine the textual with the visual in antiquarian, historical and topographical guides. Scott's attempts were complicated by his geographical location: from his home in the Borders, his closest publishing base was Edinburgh, and as the following chapter will discuss, Edinburgh suffered in the production of illustrated literature from a lack of its own resources, and its reliance on the healthy engraving trade of London.

Scott's friendship with Skene sheds some light on the writing processes employed by Scott, and challenges his own assertion in "The Death of the Laird's Jock" of the primacy of text over image. In the final illustrated publication, as Scott understood it, the image was subservient to, and defined by, the text. It was with this understanding of the supplemental relationship of image to text that Scott oversaw the illustration of his novels from 1819 onwards. Those illustrations over which he had some editorial control (that is, those produced in Scotland for editions published by his Edinburgh publishers) were never merely decorative, but served at least some functional purpose, whether it was recording a specific topography, costume, custom or object. However, Scott's relationship with Skene muddies his own claims of textual supremacy. Skene's drawings clearly helped Scott imagine some of his localities with greater specificity (if not to the extent Skene would have us believe), to the point where literary descriptions

⁴⁴ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 92-3.

⁴⁵ In a letter of 1821 to Skene, Scott writes: "I have given Constable the plates, and he seems much pleased with the plan of the 'Reekianae.' All that I can do will be done, of course. He will hold communication with you on the subject himself." (Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 Vols. 6:323).

were so precise as to deny the illustrator room for artistic license or interpretation. He was also consistently involved in the production of illustrated literature, whether initiating illustrated tour guides or contributing illustrations to costume books. Even though some of these efforts were unsuccessful, particularly with regards to the illustration of his early poetry, or his projects for Skene, they do demonstrate a willingness to experiment, even innovate, within the market for illustrated literature. These experiences with illustrated literature, and the *type* of illustration with which Scott was most comfortable, informed the first images to be published with the novels, according to the author's understanding of the function of illustration. While Skene ultimately did not illustrate the Waverley novels, his relationship with Scott helps us to understand precisely how Scott was happy to reconcile imagery with the written word, both in his imagination and in the final published novel. It also demonstrates Scott's ability to read, and to an extent predict, trends in the literary market. While his publishers, Constable and Cadell, rightly take much of the credit for their innovations in illustrating the Waverley novels, Scott's correspondence with Skene highlights his own commercial intuition, despite the fact that his efforts were ultimately thwarted. He had anticipated the growing demand amongst the buying public for illustrated literature, and, as this thesis will demonstrate, his novels were the first to successfully combine contemporary fiction with high quality engravings at an affordable price. The reciprocal relationship between the visual arts and literature, which increasingly defined the commercial thrust of this literary period, had been negotiated in Scott's imagination long before the first illustrations of the novels appeared in 1819. Now it is necessary to examine the market place for illustrated literature, and to contextualise the cultural climate in which Scott's publishers began to illustrate the Waverley novels.

Section II

Chapter 2

Book illustration and the manipulation of literary genres

The purpose of this section, chapters 2 and 3, is to provide a clear account of the genesis, development and newness of the illustrations of the Waverley novels in Scotland, and to establish Scott's personal input into the illustration process. An analysis of the evolution of Scott's illustrated novels provides us with valuable information about the changes in the literary market between 1819 (when the first illustration for the novels appeared) and 1833 (the final year of the *Magnum Opus* edition of the novels). This analysis will demonstrate that both of Scott's publishers in Scotland, Archibald Constable and Robert Cadell, were experimenting in the market for illustrated literature in an attempt to re-brand the Waverley novels for a wider reading audience in the 1820s. This chapter, therefore, will focus on some of the historical and contemporary precedents for the illustration of novels during the 1820s, highlighting the specific and varied genres, such as poetry, travel literature, and the gift-books of the late 1820s, with which they were experimenting. Specifically, it will concentrate on two strands in the genesis of the Waverley illustration. First, it will examine the manipulation by Constable of the generic physical presentation of the anthology during the period in which the canonisation of eighteenth-century novelists was being undertaken, and secondly at Cadell's manipulation of the gift-book culture and production values in the publication of the *Magnum*. Thirdly, it will discuss the visual models for the subject matter of the illustrations, in particular, eighteenth-century novel illustration, the ethnographical illustrations to Scottish poetry (which found its prototype in illustrations to Burns), and the influence of the illustrated travel guides of the 1810s. Finally, it will discuss developments in the engraving trade, and the relative importance of the artists and engravers to the illustration process. Chapter 3 will then look more specifically at Constable's and Cadell's innovations in this field, at Scott's personal interaction with the editorial and practical aspects of illustrated literature, and with the shifting power relationships between author, publisher, artist and engraver. Together, these chapters intend to provide evidence of Scott's willingness to embrace illustration as both a commercial and intellectual benefit to his novels, in contrast to the previously held assumption that he was indifferent to the visual arts and the illustration of his work.

In *The Shock of the Real*, Gillen D'Arcy Wood describes the impact of mechanisation on the reproduction of literature and the visual arts in the literary marketplace from the late eighteenth century. William Hazlitt, for example, predicted that mass-production, and the technological developments which facilitated it, would "reduce art to the "cheap and vulgar" state of popular literature, dictated to by the gross tastes of the "public" rather than the enlightened sensibilities of the elite".⁴⁶ Wood later describes how, by the 1820s, "illustrated publications became a lucrative extension of the print trade". The market for illustrated books grew to the point where "readers came to expect that collections of poems, plays, and novels would contain well-executed engravings", so that, by 1836, the traditional role of illustration in English fiction, which had been restricted to a frontispiece and a vignette title-page, was revolutionised by the first instalment of Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*.⁴⁷

The mechanisation of literary reproduction was only part of the industrial expansion and technological development of Britain's infrastructure during this period. As Clifford Siskin points out, for example, every aspect of book-making, selling and distribution was positively influenced by mechanisation, "a point reached by roughly 1830 after decades of largely British innovations that were then followed with the start of the railroads during that same decade, by the mechanization of the distribution network".⁴⁸ These developments had tangible and dramatic impacts on the costs of book production and distribution, and in turn on the literary marketplace. Lower production costs and the ability to mass-produce texts, thanks to the inventions in the early 1800s of stereotyping, the Fourdrinier paper-making machine and the power-press, drove down the cost of books for the middle-class consumer.⁴⁹ This had the effect of broadening the bookseller's market exponentially, while the market in turn began to dictate the demand for a type of literature which moved away from the more literary, elitist literature of poetry and journal discourse in the late eighteenth century towards "new mixed forms, particularly multivolume "libraries," illustrated literary annuals, and gift-book anthologies".⁵⁰ The most dramatic period of change was the 1820s, the decade in which printing and engraving processes were innovated, developed

⁴⁶ Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860*, (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2001), p. 68.

⁴⁷ Wood, *The Shock of the Real*, p. 173.

⁴⁸ Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 11-12.

⁴⁹ Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature And the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800-1850*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 19.

⁵⁰ Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing*, p. 12.

and deployed by publishers, printers and illustrators of the Waverley novels. Firstly, however, it is necessary to contextualise the early pictorial and literary influences which inspired Constable's early attempts to illustrate the Waverley novels.

Novel illustration and literary anthologies

To understand Constable's strategy in illustrating Scott's novels it is necessary to contextualise the history of the illustrated novel in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, and to examine how he manipulated the generic physical form of the collected novel to re-brand the work of a living novelist. Eighteenth-century novels had been illustrated with frontispieces which, as Janine Barchas argues, were conceived as an integral part of the material and interpretive fabric of the written word.⁵¹ Defoe, Smollet, Sterne and Fielding, for example, were all published with portrait title pages of the authors or the titular heroes. Swift and Defoe used such portraits to supplement the conceit of their narrative frameworks. The first editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, for example, were published with a portrait of the fictional Lemuel Gulliver, presented as the reliable narrator, and maps of the islands which Gulliver visited, while early editions of *Robinson Crusoe* were published with a frontispiece of Crusoe marooned on the island. Defoe in particular enthusiastically indulged in the novelty and diversity of contemporary print culture, incorporating folding maps, lists, tables and addenda into the fabric of the novel.⁵² Subsequent and inferior portrait frontispieces became increasingly popular towards the 1750s, to the point where they began to be satirised and pastiched, becoming almost redundant by the 1760s. Barchas points to a shift in the 1760s away from the portrait title page to an increasing concentration on *place*, mirroring a change in the novel's preoccupation with the histories of private persons to histories of time and place. This is represented in the frontispiece to a novel by Sarah Scott, *Millenium Hall* (1762), which portrays two gentlemen, with their backs to the viewer, looking towards a large country estate.⁵³ As Barchas writes, "[Sarah] Scott's rejection of the counterfeit author-portrait model heralds a turn in the novel's intense interest in the single and singular individual".⁵⁴ This shift towards an interest in

⁵¹ Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 41.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design*, p. 56.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

location, and its associated history, is a precursor to those topographical images which would illustrate Scott's poetry in the 1810s, and novels in the 1820s.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there had developed a trend for retrospective illustration of the popular novelists. Most remarkable was the work done by Thomas Rowlandson, the satirist and caricaturist who later illustrated William Combe's *The Tours of Dr. Syntax* (1812-21). He produced, for example, a series of twelve etchings for Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), published in Edinburgh by J. Sibbald in 1791 (fig.2).



Fig 2: Thomas Rowlandson, "Tom Jones detects the Philosopher in Black Moll's Bed Chamber", from *Tom Jones* (Edinburgh: J. Sibbald, 1791).

According to Edward Wolf, the growth in middle-class wealth and literacy facilitated the increase in the sale of single plates such as this, and, moreover, the novels which these plates illustrated were on every reading table in the country.⁵⁵ It was the further development of this same market which would later fuel the demand for heavy illustration of the Waverley novels in the 1820s. In addition to *Tom Jones*, Rowlandson also illustrated, among other works, Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* and *Roderick Random*, Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* with twenty colour plates, and contributed to the

⁵⁵ Edward C. J. Wolf, *Rowlandson and his Illustrations of Eighteenth-century English Literature*, (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1945), p. 77.

illustration of Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*. These illustrations were produced and published retrospectively as separate plates in the 1790s, which were then sold as illustrations for later editions of the novels (with instructions as to where in the texts they should be bound). The novels were not sold with the illustrations already bound in: the engravings were sold separately and subsequently bound into the private owner's copy according to the fashion of the period. This practice carried on into the nineteenth century, and well into the illustration of the Waverley novels. As late as the 1830s, Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1830-3) was published with precisely this method in mind. Bought separately from the novels they were illustrating, book-illustrations became fashionable, decorative supplements to a consumer's pre-owned novel; Constable successfully identified and targeted this market for extra-illustration with the publication of Alexander Nasmyth's and William Allan's illustrations to the Waverley novels in the early 1820s.⁵⁶

Rowlandson was only one of a group of illustrators working in this manner in the 1790s and 1800s, highlighting the fact that the illustrated novel was an established medium before the employment of illustrators on the Waverley novels in 1819. However, it must be recognised here that these illustrations were generally commissioned for novels, and novelists, who were already well established in the British canon. Contemporary novels in the early nineteenth century, dominated and defined as they were by female authors, were for the most part not being published with illustration. Illustration seems to have been the privilege of the established, predominantly (though not exclusively) male authors, from Defoe to Sterne, and Rowlandson's comic style of illustration in particular suited a certain type of novel, the picaresque novel. Scott's contemporaries – Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, Lady Morgan – were not illustrated. There were exceptions to this rule, however. Work done by, among others, Rachel Howard, as part of the Corvey project at Cardiff University, has provided checklists which catalogue illustrated novels in this period. Howard's checklist of moral-domestic fiction between 1820 and 1834, for example, lists 96 novels, 17 of which were published with illustrations. Of these illustrated novels, most

⁵⁶ In 1820, Constable published a series of illustrations by William Allan, the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, and then a series by Alexander Nasmyth in 1821 called *Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss these publications in greater depth.

were published in London, and none at all were published in Edinburgh.⁵⁷ This was due in part to the lack of engraving resources in Edinburgh at the time, in comparison to the healthy print culture in London, and in part to the resultant lack of demand for illustrated literature amongst the Edinburgh readership. As this thesis will argue later on, the book-buying public in Edinburgh in the late 1810s and early 1820s had not been as exposed to illustrated literature as that in London, and Constable's illustrated publications therefore had to cultivate a market for novel-illustration before profiting fully from it.⁵⁸

Constable's plans to re-package the Waverley novels was the first step in this process. By appropriating the format of the *anthology* and applying it to a living novelist, Constable was deliberately trying to position Scott as the latest in the line of the great novelists of the eighteenth century, while resurrecting the early eighteenth-century trend for the illustration of novels with authorial involvement. Constable's innovation was to manipulate the generic form of the anthology, appropriate the historical trend of novel-illustration, and apply it to a living novelist. The end of the eighteenth- and beginning of the nineteenth-centuries saw a growing fashion amongst publishers and readers for collected anthologies of the great authors, the market for which Scott was fully aware. In fact, Scott contributed conspicuously to the canonisation of eighteenth-century novelists, publishing his *Lives of the Novelists* in 1825, and editing, amongst other writers, an edition of Swift for Constable in 1808.⁵⁹ In addition, Peter Garside has pointed out that Scott had conceived, and was working on, an anthology to help keep James Ballantyne's press busy in 1808. With John Murray, he conceived a collected edition of novelists which would update the "faded-looking

⁵⁷ Rachel Howard, "Domesticating the Novel: Moral-Domestic Fiction, 1820-1834" *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 13 (2004). Online: Internet (4/4/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc13_n03.html>. Very little work has been done on the illustration of novels of this period (the beginning of the nineteenth century), but Howard's checklist provides a neat, albeit generically confined, cross-section of the low proportion of novels being published with illustrations during the 1820s. Interestingly, Howard locates the moral-domestic fiction as a female authored genre targeting a largely female readership, implying that such illustrations were generically linked to a female audience before Scott's "masculinising" of the historical novel. Peter Garside and Anthony Mandell, in their article "Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800-1829" (*Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 1 (1997). Online: Internet (31/3/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc01_n01.html>), also cite an illustrated novel from 1820,

Edward Baron's *The Royal Wanderer*, which was "Embellished with Engravings". However, it does seem that such illustrated novels were rare before 1820, and were usually published in London.

⁵⁸ Chapter 3 will examine the discrepancies in the engraving resources between Edinburgh and London in the 1820s, and the problems this posed for the illustration of the Waverley novels. Chapter 4 will then deal with Scott's and Nasmyth's project of educating an Edinburgh readership into aesthetically appreciating their environment through illustrations to *The Heart of Midlothian*.

⁵⁹ John Gibson Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black), p. 217.

Harrison's Novelist's Magazine (1780-8)", and which would include in the later instalments more modern works.⁶⁰ It was the format and target audience of this type of publication which Constable sought to exploit with his illustrated collections of Scott's novels throughout the 1820s, beginning with the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1819-23), continuing sequentially with the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1822-24) and the *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1824-25). It was an interesting publishing strategy which, as will be discussed in chapter 3, seems to have been directly influenced by an illustrated edition of another established and popular novel, *Don Quixote*, published by T. Cadell & Davies in 1818. Robert Cadell (no relation to "T.") would later use the same underlying principles in his collected illustrated novels for the *Magnum Opus*: the creation of a canon of works for a *living* novelist was usually during this period reserved for great authors of the past. However, both Constable and Cadell appropriated this format for an author who had brought the novel firmly back into the mainstream of cultural, professional and masculine acceptability.⁶¹

Gems and Keepsakes: literature as commodity

Cadell, however, also appropriated the visual discourse and production values of a new type of literature, the illustrated gift-book, which found prominence around the time he took control of the Waverley copyrights following Constable's death in 1826. Illustration became increasingly crucial to popular publishing throughout the 1820s, particularly in the market for annuals, keepsakes and gift-books in the second half of the decade. Such publications were popular as fashionable, coffee-table items, and the profusion of these heavily illustrated, small and stylish books illustrates the tastes of a mass-audience with money and time to spend on leisurely pursuits. As Lee Erickson points out, these books competed directly with the audience for poetry in the 1820s, and were designed to be sold to women as gift-books for Christmas. The first to appear was

⁶⁰ Peter Garside and Anthony Mandell, "Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800-1829), (<<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corbey/articles/index.html>>).

⁶¹ Ina Ferris and Sonia Hofkosh discuss the appropriation of the novel from the preconceptions of female reading trends which Scott achieved through the popularity of *Waverley*. Ferris, for example, in *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender History and the Waverley Novels*, points out that, for an early nineteenth-century readership, Scott imbued the female "virtue" of romance with the masculinising realism of historicity (p. 97). This change in the perception of the novel may have led Constable to appropriate the illustrated format of the eighteenth-century male authors, who formed a direct line to the Author of Waverley.

the *Forget Me Not* in 1823, the success of which was soon to encourage fierce competition. *The Literary Souvenir*, for example, sold six thousand copies in 1825, and in 1828, the first *Keepsake* sold up to fifteen thousand copies.⁶² Erickson uses these publications as examples of how the audience for poetry was being siphoned off by the annuals, particularly given that the average annual included poetry and prose by the most popular authors of the age, including Scott and Byron. This posed a similar problem for publishers of poetry to that which Constable identified with the slow sales of *The Monastery*: why should a consumer buy a volume of poetry by a single author, at an average price of five shillings, when for twelve, he or she could buy an annual with many contributing authors and poets and with a variety of illustrations? Poetry, as it had been published in the early 1800s, Erickson argues, could not survive this type of competition.⁶³ However, Constable, Cadell and Scott manipulated this market to make sure that the Waverley novels benefited from this publishing phenomenon.

The mechanical reproduction of famous paintings became a lucrative market for the new school of British art which flourished at the end of the eighteenth century, allowing greater exposure for British artists across Europe. The mechanisation of reproduction contradicted the Romantic ideal of “authenticity, original genius, and the *beau ideal*”, as articulated in Sir Joshua Reynolds’ *Discourses*, a series of lectures he gave at each prize-awarding ceremony of the Royal Academy between 1769 to 1790. Reynolds’ experience and opinions of the mechanical reproduction of paintings was shared by the subsequent generation of intelligentsia, primarily writers and poets. Wood points out that both generations shared “a literary sensibility outraged by the spectacle of bourgeois consumption of art, and by the increasing influence of a decidedly middle-class taste for visual novelty and the ‘real’”.⁶⁴ The concern at engraving’s ability to mass-produce, and thus popularise images, can be seen as a reaction to a growing popular culture, and an ongoing debate about what defined literary and artistic taste. An artist’s success increasingly relied on the ability of his painting to move prints among the print-buying public, and in this way, a middle-class taste began to dictate the artist’s output. Reynolds’ found himself at the beginning of the commercial art culture, and while, as President of the Royal Academy, he was concerned at the “demeaning” effects of the popularisation on Academy painting, he

⁶² Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form*, p.29.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Wood, *Shock of the Real*, p. 13.

was also increasingly a beneficiary of the booming print trade, to which the Academy was ideologically opposed. The print trade initiated a shift of patronage for artists, away from traditional aristocratic and professional patronage to that dictated by a wider, bourgeois, very public audience. This coincided with a Romantic repudiation of the technology and culture of the mass-audience, which Hazlitt articulated when he predicted that art would be reduced to the state of the “cheap and vulgar” popular literature, “dictated to by the gross tastes of the “public” rather than the enlightened sensibilities of the elite.”⁶⁵ But artists were forced to bow to the market despite protestations, and, in the same way that Romantic poets and writers grudgingly submitted work to the popular gift-books of the 1820s, painters submitted to the public taste for engraved facsimiles of their work.

Popular engraving and literature inevitably coincided with the illustration of texts, and, by the early nineteenth century, this technology and expertise was serving artists well in the field of book illustration.⁶⁶ Illustration had been prevalent, particularly in Scotland, in the working class literature of the chapbook, which tended to be cheaply produced and illustrated with woodcut illustrations.⁶⁷ The chapbook was the cheapest, most accessible and popular form of literature for the lower classes during this period, and often reproduced pirated versions of Scott’s novels, with woodcut illustrations (although this thesis is concerned only with those copper- and steel-plate illustrations produced for the legitimate Scottish publications). This illustrative form, however, was far removed from the high quality engravings of paintings by famous artists that were reproduced in expensive, elitist literature at the turn of the century.⁶⁸ Constable’s target

⁶⁵ Wood, *Shock of the Real*, p. 68.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ G. Ross Roy defines the popular chapbook in Scotland, as it appeared between 1750 and 1850 at the height of its popularity, as small pamphlets or books, usually of either 8 or 24 pages, made from one sheet of cheap paper, and published in parts. When a set of serialisations was completed, the subscriber would often be issued with an engraved title page and sometimes with a frontispiece. Most chapbooks appeared at around a penny per issue, in 8mo or 12vo, the smaller sizes which Constable began to utilise for a middle-class readership. Constable was happy to borrow from other literary forms, and the chapbook may have influenced his decision to publish serialised parts with illustrations, but there is no supporting evidence to this theory. Scott had certainly been a collector of chapbooks in his youth, however, as his library inventory reveals, with a collection of “Popular Ballads and Stories. Collected by Sir Walter Scott”. This thesis will, however, concentrate exclusively on copper- and steel-plate engraving as produced for the more exclusive end of the literary market, at which the Waverley novels were being targeted in the early nineteenth century. (“Some Notes on Scottish Chapbooks” by G. Ross Roy, <<http://www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/britlit/cbooks/cbook2.html>>, accessed 15/4/05).

⁶⁸ Raymond Lister articulates the predominant social and commercial function of the print at the start of the nineteenth century: “One of the most important factors in its [the print’s] rise at this period was the growing fashion among all classes to possess pictures, and original paintings being too expensive for most pockets, the print provided a comparatively inexpensive surrogate.” See *Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1984), p54.

market lay somewhere between the working class literature of the chapbook and the literature which graced the private libraries of the wealthy and aristocratic, and painters were increasingly inclined to lend their names to such commercial projects. Nasmyth, for example, and the English artist J. M. W. Turner, both earned money from the illustration of tourist books such as the *Border Antiquities*, and with topographical landscape illustrations which were published with poetical works by Scott, Burns, Samuel Rogers and others. Constable appropriated the format of illustrated poetry (with illustrated title-page vignettes), and the visual discourse of the landscape publications of the 1810s to illustrate Scott's novels. He was working, therefore, within a well established tradition of illustrated books, but manipulated the form to develop something new in literature, a collected edition of novels by a living novelist. Novels became affordable collectors' items in the 1820s, thanks to the commercial appeal of the Author of Waverley and the cheaper illustrated editions of his works which began to be produced in Edinburgh and London under Constable's guidance.

It was this shift from the book as "literature" to the book as "commodity", to which the annuals and gift-books contributed so much in the 1820s. Laura Mandell, writing about the poetry of Felicia Hemans in the literary annuals, points out that such gift-books were viewed as "commodities, and were hawked as such by their promoters and detractors alike", while gift-book authors were "somewhere between campaigning politicians and advertised goods".⁶⁹ The annuals certainly appeared to revel in their status as desirable, affordable items which promoted the very latest in literature and art, and editors were prepared to pay huge sums of money to writers, artists and engravers for their services. Mandell agrees with the general assumption that "gift-book poetry, and a portion of the poems in annuals written by women, develop a bourgeois aesthetic that explicitly counters the dominant aesthetic of canonical Romantic poetry", but this ignores the contributions made by those same Romantic poets and authors, amongst them Byron (posthumously), Wordsworth and Scott himself. Gift-books may have been largely bought and targeted at a female readership, but the editors were generally mindful of the breadth of their appeal across gender, class and educational boundaries. It was their value as *commodities*, rather than literature which defined their cultural importance, and herein lies the reason that otherwise reluctant authors and poets agreed to contribute to them: the gift-book offered a struggling poet money and exposure which

⁶⁹ Laura Mandell, "Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic", *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 6 (2001). Online: Internet (31/3/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc06_n01.html>.

more traditional forms of publication could no longer offer. The gift-book was an 'object of virtue', which conferred a certain social and cultural status on its owner. Gift-books were expendable, disposable literature; their intrinsic importance to the consumer was their ability to demonstrate a certain bourgeois, upwardly-mobile status, to be displayed for its material and decorative value as much as read for the latest literature or print. This type of publication had implications for the production of other literature. Erickson and Mandell point out that the traditional poetical publications of the 1810s, which Scott and Byron had pioneered, suffered at the hands of the gift-books for reasons mentioned above. However, Scott, Constable and Cadell were quick to identify the advantages that this consumer taste for collectable literature might have for the Waverley novels, and began to incorporate aspects of the gift-book which would be quickly associated in the minds of the consumer with a popular form of literature. Foremost among these aspects were the steel-plate illustrations, and the artists and engravers involved in their production.

Despite Romantic antipathy to the annual culture of the 1820s, most writers of importance contributed something to it. For example, the *Keepsake* of 1829 had contributions from, among others, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Scott, and, posthumously, Shelley. However, as Erickson points out, the popularity of the annuals rested more on the steel engravings of famous paintings, people and illustrations of the works contributed by the writers. Southey described the annuals as "picture-books for grown children". He discovered this to his own cost when the editors of the *Keepsake* rejected a narrative poem he contributed and asked him instead to contribute a lyric on a subject of his own choice, which was not printed, and two poems about drawings by J. M. Wright and J. M. W. Turner which *were* printed.⁷⁰ This is indicative of the fact that, by the end of the 1820s, it was the engraving process which began to drive the production values behind these publications. The value of the engravings to the publication is clearly articulated in the editors' forewords to several of the annuals. In the introduction to the *Keepsake* of 1829, for example, the publisher Charles Heath emphasises the quality and size of the illustrations: "The Engravings have been considerably augmented in size, and, it is presumed, in value; no exertion having been spared to render them superior, even to those of last year."⁷¹ In the *Gem* of the same year, the editor Thomas Hood acknowledges the help of the Royal Academician

⁷⁰ Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, p. 30.

⁷¹ EUL, Corson E.Kee.2.

Abraham Cooper in contributing to the quality in choice and execution of the illustrations:

It is proper to mention in this place, that the merit due for the selection and character of the Embellishments of this Work, is attributable to the taste and judgment of A. COOPER, Esq. ... who has kindly taken that department under his able and especial care. With such auspices I feel assured that the plates will be found worthy of the enlightened gusto that prevails in these days for Works of Graphic Art.⁷²

The emphasis on Cooper's name is used as insurance to the reader of quality, much as Scott's own name is mentioned by Hood in the *Gem* of 1829 in reference to his poem *The Death of Keeldar*. Both editors are keen to reassure the buyer of the credentials of the artists and quality of the engravings in the face of fierce competition from rival publications. Even despite the overt commercialism of these publications, however, Scott participated freely in the annual culture, which reached its peak at precisely the time he was struggling with crippling debts. He contributed works to several of these publications, some of which were illustrated, while the artists, engravers and editors reciprocated in kind. Both Charles Heath and Cooper, for example, contributed to the illustration of the *Magnum*. In fact, the illustration of the Waverley novels in the 1820s was part of a wider reciprocal process between Scott, the artists, and the publishers of the annuals. Cooper's example is of particular interest in this regard. Scott's correspondence with Cooper during the late 1820s reveals this reciprocity at work, and demonstrates Scott's interaction with the popularist annual culture. *The Death of Keeldar* was written specifically for Hood's *Gem*, inspired by a drawing sent to him by Abraham Cooper. In a letter written to Hood on 4 March 1828, Scott says,

I was favoured with Mr Cooper's beautiful sketch of the heart-piercing incident of the dead greyhound which is executed with a force and fancy which I flatter myself that I who was in my younger days and in part still am a great lover of dogs and horses and an accurate observer of their habits can appreciate. I intend the instant our term ends to send a few verses ... if I can make any at my years in acknowledgment [sic]. ... Pray inform Mr Cooper of my intention though I fear I will be unable to do anything deserving of the subject⁷³

This role reversal – the poet writing for the illustration – is reminiscent of Southey's struggle with Heath over his work for the *Keepsake*, except for the fact that Scott was an experienced participant in this type of project by this time. Not only had

⁷² EUL, Corson 390 E. Gem.

⁷³ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 10:394.

he had previous experience of contributing his work and patronage to annuals of previous years, but he had also written supporting texts for *The Border Antiquities* and *The Provincial Antiquities*. Most importantly, however, he undertook this favour to Hood and Cooper at precisely the time that he and Cadell were actively trying to recruit the best known illustrators in the trade for the forthcoming *Magnum*. Cooper's name was certainly amongst the first on their list of preferred artists, and, while Scott's appreciation of Cooper's talents was genuine, and while he was genuinely flattered by the artist's request for some lines by Scott for his painting, the letter enclosed with the poem to Cooper confirms that his efforts were not entirely altruistic.

Dear Sir,-The enclosed lines [the manuscript of *The Death of Keeldar*] are ungraciously late in being sent to you but I have been engaged since my return hither in very unpoetical business. I wish they had been better worth sending but Pegasus is not for an old mans riding.

I avail myself of the opportunity which this gives me to present Mr Cadell of Edinburgh bookseller & publisher. He has in hand an extensive literary undertaking in which he is desirous of procuring decorations from the best artists and would feel his plan much defective if he had not two or three sketches from Mr. Cooper. I will be much obliged by you suffering [him] to explain his plan to you in which I take a very near interest.⁷⁴

Scott cashed in on his favour to Cooper, who was all too willing to cooperate in the illustration of a new edition of the Waverley novels. Cooper provided some of the first illustrations to appear in 1829. This is just one example of the crossover between the periodical culture and the illustration of the *Magnum*. Many of the illustrators of the periodicals like the *Gem*, *The Keepsakes* and *The Literary Souvenir* were recruited by Scott and Cadell as illustrators to the Waverley novels. There were several reasons for this: first, artists and engravers were keen to be associated with Scott's novels. The enormous popularity and wide distribution of the novels would give them greater exposure than they could imagine through most other channels.⁷⁵ Secondly, the artists who were illustrating the periodicals and annuals were tried and tested, accustomed to providing designs and plates in a professional and timely manner for publishers, forming a useful resource of illustrators whom Scott and Cadell could trust to provide a

⁷⁴ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 10.457.

⁷⁵ Richard Altick, in *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), lists *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816) and *Rob Roy* (1818) as best sellers in their respective years of publication, while he notes that between 1829 and 1849, the Waverley novels sold 78,270 sets. These sets were based on the illustrated *Magnum* format, most of which, such as the Black brothers' later editions of the 1870s, used the original plates from the *Magnum*, with an ever increasing proliferation of additional antiquarian, landscape and costume illustration.

certain quality of illustration. Thirdly, the names and works of these artists and engravers were familiar to the target audience which Cadell had in mind for the *Magnum*, providing continuity between the hugely popular illustrated annuals and the marketing of the novel. In other words, Cadell could use the names of the artists as marketing tools, as they were familiar to many of the readers, who would in turn be encouraged into buying cheaper novels in a familiar and popular format. He was deliberately targeting the market for the annual, appropriating the artists and the style of these periodicals for the re-issue of already popular novels.

The advertisements Cadell published for the first issues of the *Magnum* give clues as to his marketing strategy, at the heart of which was the fact that the volumes were affordable, and illustrated. The advertisement for the first instalment runs as follows:

Waverley Novels, New Edition.
This day is published, beautifully printed in royal 18mo,
With a frontispiece by W. Kidd, engraved by J. Mitchell;
And a vignette, by A. Cooper, R.A., engraved by T. C. Edwards...⁷⁶

The advertisement continues to provide a brief manifesto of the publication, and Cadell's intentions.

PLAN OF THE WORK.

- I. The size royal 18mo; each volume to contain about 400 pages, *price 5s* done up in cloth.
- II. The publication to be continued on the first day of each month, (to be delivered with the Magazines and Reviews,) till the whole is completed.
- III. *Each Volume to have a Frontispiece and Vignette title-page, both containing subjects illustrative of the Novel to which they are attached.*
- IV. The Work will be comprised in FORTY VOLUMES, commencing with Waverley, published on 1st June, and closing with Woodstock. The Author's additions will form about Two of these Forty Volumes.⁷⁷

[My italics].

Another advertisement, printed at the end of the final volume of *Anne of Geierstein*, which was being published concurrently with the first instalments of the *Magnum*, also emphasises the engravings as a central attraction of the new edition:

⁷⁶ NLS, APS.3.91.43.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Waverley, forming Vols. I. and II. Of the New Edition of the WAVERLEY NOVELS, royal 18mo, price 10s., done up in cloth.-(To be continued Monthly, and delivered with the Magazines and Reviews.)

These two Volumes, besides a General Preface to the Series of Novels now in the course of republication, and a copious Appendix, contain many Notes and Additions by the Author; and are illustrated by Engravings, from designs by F. P. Stephanoff, James Stephanoff, Edwin Landseer, and G. S. Newton. Engraved in the best manner by William Raddon, R. Graves, and Charles Rolls.⁷⁸

A close reading of these advertisements reveal that Cadell was, in part at least, targeting the market of the periodical publication. Quality, cheapness, longevity and periodical issue, to correspond precisely with the issue of the monthly magazines, were all central to the popularity of this edition. They were all attributes associated with the annual and periodical publications, and the emphasis on the engravings and the names of the artists, are resonant of the same strategy employed by the editors of the *Keepsake* and *The Gem*. In fact, the annuals became excellent marketing tools for Scott and Cadell: Scott contributed works to several publications under his guise of the “Author of Waverley”. For example, he contributed several short stories to the *Keepsakes* which had initially been planned to feature in the *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827-28). His introduction to these stories, written in 1831 and published posthumously, outlines the popularity of the annuals, and emphasises the attraction of the engravings.

The species of publication which has come to be generally known by the title of ANNUAL, being a miscellany of prose and verse, equipped with numerous engravings, and put forth every year about Christmas, had flourished for a long while in Germany before it was imitated in this country by an enterprising bookseller, a German by birth, Mr. Ackermann. The rapid success of his work, as is the custom of the time, gave birth to a host of rivals, and, among others, to an Annual styled *The Keepsake*, the first volume of which appeared in 1828, and attracted much notice, chiefly in consequence of the very uncommon splendour of its illustrative accompaniments. ...

Various gentlemen of such literary reputation that any one might think it an honour to be associated with them had been announced as contributors to this Annual, before application was made to me to assist in it; and I accordingly placed with much pleasure at the Editor's disposal a few fragments, originally designed to have been worked into the *Chronicles of the Canongate*, besides a manuscript drama, the long-neglected performance of my youthful

⁷⁸ Walter Scott, *Anne of Geierstein*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Cadell & Co., 1829), vol. 3, p. 383. For the illustrations mentioned here, see catalogue section 6, plates 6:1 to 6:4.

days--"The House of Aspen."⁷⁹

He contributed three stories to the *Keepsake* for 1829, "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror", "The Tapestryed Chamber", and "The Death of the Laird's Jock", the latter having apparently been written specifically for the annual, and all of which are illustrated. The history of Scott's involvement with the *Keepsake*, however, helps to draw a clearer picture of the financial rewards to be reaped from the sale of his novels. An entry in his *Journal* for 30 January 1828 records a personal approach from Charles Heath, who offered him the editorship of the *Keepsake*.

His [Heath's] object was to engage me to take charge as Editor of a yearly publication call'd the *Keepsake*, of which the plates are beyond comparison beautiful. But the Letterpress indifferent enough. He proposed £800 a year if I would become Editor, and £400 if I would contribute from 70 to 100 pages. I declined both but told him I might give him some trifling thing or other... Now to become a stipendiary Editor of a Newsyear gift book is not to be thought of, nor could I agree to work for any quantity of supply to such a publication. Even the pecuniary view is not flattering though these gentlemen meant it should be so. *But one of their close printed pages, for which they offer £400, is not nearly equal to one volume of a novel for which I get £1300 and have the reversion of the copyright.* No—I may give them a trifle for nothing or sell them an article for a round price but no permanent engagement will I make.⁸⁰ [My italics.]

This entry sheds a great deal of light on the nature of the *Keepsake*, Scott's attitude towards it, his awareness of the value of his own work in the marketplace, and his willingness to participate in the project to meet his own purposes. His comment on the quality of engravings, as opposed to the letterpress, highlights the pre-eminence given to the illustrations of these publications. For Scott, the editorship of such a publication was not a worthwhile exercise: while it would have provided a steady income, it was not a project with which he was willing to associate himself too closely. Over breakfast at Abbotsford the next day, he agreed with Heath and his partner, Frederick Reynolds, to contribute 100 pages at £500, and he thus earned much needed cash while maintaining a respectable distance from the "Newsyear gift book".⁸¹ By this point he was committed to working on the introductions and emendations to the novels for the *Magnum*, which he rightly predicted would be much more lucrative than any annual. The works he contributed were works which had already been written and

⁷⁹ Walter Scott, "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror," from *Short Stories by Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Lord David Cecil (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 260.

⁸⁰ Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. W. E. K. Anderson (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1998), p. 473-4.

⁸¹ Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 474.

rejected years earlier, or shorter stories and poems which took little effort to produce for reasonable reward. His biographer and son-in-law, J. G. Lockhart, confirms this view.

The result was that Mr Heath received, for L.500, the liberty of printing in his Keepsake the long-forgotten juvenile drama of the House of Aspen, with Aunt Margaret's Mirror, and two other little tales, which had been omitted, at Ballantyne's entreaty, from the second Chronicles of Croftangry. But Sir Walter regretted having meddled in any way with the toyshop of literature, and would never do so again, though repeatedly offered very large sums—nor even when the motive of private regard was added, upon Mr Allan Cunningham's lending his name to one of these painted bladders.⁸²

Lockhart's vitriol towards the annuals does not necessarily reflect Scott's strength of feeling towards them, but he did evidently feel that a certain distance from this type of cheap, popularist publication was necessary. He notes in his *Journal*, following an offer from the booksellers Saunders and Ottley of £1500 to undertake a similar editorial role, that his main object was to "clear my debts and that is to be done by writing things of which I can retain the property".⁸³ His real assets were his novels. The annual contributions did serve their purpose in the short term, in that he earned quick cash and came into contact with those illustrators which he and Cadell poached for the illustration of the *Magnum*. However, an argument with Heath a year later precipitated his divorce from the annual industry. In his *Journal*, 27 February 1829, Scott berates Heath's suggestion that his engravings for the *Magnum* be repaid not with money, but with pages for the *Keepsake*.

The last post brought a letter from Mr. Heath proposing to set off his engravings for the magnum opus against my contributions for the *Keepsake*. A pretty mode of accounting that would be—he be damnd—I wrote him declining his proposal and as he says I am still in his debt I will send him the old drama of the *House of Aspen* which I wrote some thirty years [ago] and offerd to the stage. ... There are several manuscript copies of the play abroad and some of them will be popping out one of these days in a contraband manner.⁸⁴

While Heath was fobbed off with this old manuscript, it is nonetheless poignant that Scott didn't reject Heath completely. It would not have served him well to have upset such an important engraver who was undertaking work on the *Magnum* at the time. Sending the "House of Aspen" was a way for Scott to placate Heath without entrusting him with new work, or fear of losing his name from the list of engravers working on the

⁸² J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 686.

⁸³ Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 473.

⁸⁴ Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 588-9.

Magnum illustrations. In fact, Heath went on to produce only one engraving, a frontispiece for *The Abbot* from a design by A. Chalon, for the *Magnum* (see catalogue plate 6:39). Scott complained in his *Journal* that Heath's engravings were "common-place enough in point of art"; he was incensed by Heath's suggestion that the success of the *Magnum* was due entirely to the illustrations, and clearly exercised his influence over Cadell to exclude him from that moment on in the project. By that point, however, Heath had served his purpose. The *Keepsake* had been a useful exercise in associating the Author of *Waverley* with popular illustrated literature at a time in which he and Cadell were pushing their new edition of the *Waverley* novels. The use of artists and engravers who were popularly associated with such publications was a deliberate strategy of linking the annuals with the new collected edition in the readership's consciousness.

All this is useful when considering the gradual shift in the power-structure of the publishing hierarchy. The fact that the gift-books showcased, and were increasingly driven by, the illustrations led to a greater demand for quality engravings, at cheap prices, and in ever larger numbers. Steel engraving, which was pioneered by engravers in London in the 1820s, allowed for thousands more impressions to be produced from a single plate than had been possible with copper plates, engravers continued to innovate ways to manipulate the steel to allow greater detail, and as their expertise grew, so did their value to publishers, and the relative importance of the artists diminished accordingly. Chapter 3 will demonstrate this process in action, contrasting Constable's difficulties in illustrating Scott in the early 1820s with Cadell's success in illustrating the *Magnum*. Having established how Scott's publishers manipulated different generic literary forms to re-brand the *Waverley* novels, however, it is now necessary to discuss the *visual* models which influenced the first *Waverley* illustrations, in particular, the styles of illustration found in contemporary poetry and travel literature which were appropriated by Scott and his publishers for the illustration of the novel.

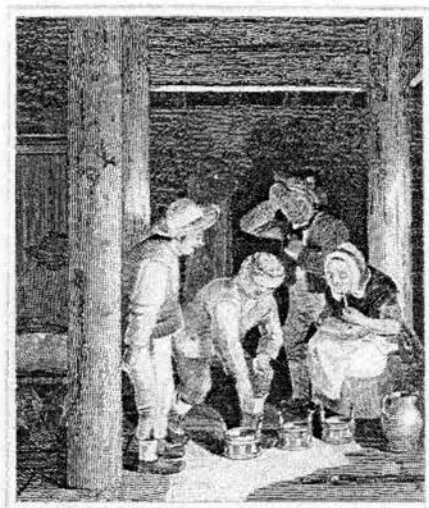
Contemporary poetical illustration

If Constable had appropriated eighteenth-century novel illustration to propel Scott into the category of "great living novelist", he also appropriated illustration from the presentation of contemporary poetry. Robert Burns (1759-1796) was the clearest model

for Scott's illustrators in terms of his associations with Scottish characters and landscapes.⁸⁵ Scott's literature – both poetry and prose – was recognised as being in many ways an historicised extension of Burns's ethnological commentaries on Scottish rural life, and the illustrations of Burns' work from 1795 onwards bear remarkable similarities to those which Allan and Nasmyth would later produce for the Waverley novels. The instructive, ethnographical aspects on the life and customs of Scottish communities in poems such as "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and "Halloween" seemed to have informed, for example, the copperplate engravings of John Burnett for a volume entitled *A Critique on the Poems of Robert Burns* (1812) (see fig.3). The emphasis here on the costumes, customs and physical environments of the characters involved are reminiscent not only of David Wilkie's observations of ethnological characteristics in his paintings of Scottish celebrations and ceremonies, but also of Allan's illustrations for the Waverley novels, *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820). Allan actually went on to illustrate an 1823 edition of Burns, the *Fac-simile of Burns' celebrated poem, entitled the Jolly Beggars* (published in Glasgow by James Lumsden), although he was not the only illustrator of Scott to work on Burns's poetry. William Home Lizars, in the same year he produced the first illustrated frontispiece for the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, illustrated *The Works of Robert Burns* (published in Montrose by Smith & Hill, 1819); while Alexander Carse and Robert Scott illustrated an 1801 edition of the *Poems by Robert Burns, with his life and character* (published in Edinburgh by Oliver).⁸⁶ The most prestigious illustrative treatment of his poetry, however, came from the great wood engraver and innovator, Thomas Bewick. The Northumberland artist, who did more than any individual to advance the technology, techniques, and recognition of wood engraving in the eighteenth century, engraved designs by the artist James Thurston for an edition entitled *The poetical works of Robert Burns and his life* (published in Alnwick by William Davidson, 1808).

⁸⁵ Another obvious model for ethnographical models of Scottish pastoral life and customs, in both literary and pictorial terms, was the 1788 edition of Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, illustrated with twelve original aquatints by the Scottish artist, David Allan. Burns described this publication as "a noble edition of the noblest Pastoral in the world". Allan's illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*, which concentrated on aspects of Scottish costumes and landscapes, clearly impacted on the ethnographical and pastoral illustrations completed for Burns' poetry by Burnett, Bewick and Allan.

⁸⁶ Details of the illustrated editions of Robert Burns' poetry can be found on the NLS website, at <<http://www.nls.uk/burns/mainsite/burns/books2.htm>>.



In a room the three bonfire-keepers.
The loggins have been lit.

Fig 3: John Burnett, “Halloween”, an illustration from *A Critique on the Poems of Robert Burns* (1812)

Burns’ popularity, therefore, and the manner in which he recorded Scottish pastoral and domestic scenes within an ethnological framework, had already helped to establish a type of ethnological, as well as decorative, illustration in Scotland before the emergence of Scott as either poet or novelist. It was in this context in which Scott’s earliest poems began to be illustrated. The first illustrations of Scott’s poetry appeared in London in 1808: as early as 1803 he had entertained the idea of having his first long poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), published with illustrations by the artist J. J. Masquerier, but abandoned the idea on seeing the sketches, which betrayed Masquerier’s ignorance of Scottish traditional costume or manners. John Schetky was in fact the first artist to illustrate Scott’s poetry, with engravings of topographical scenery and architecture, for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. These illustrations are important not only because they were the first engravings for any of Scott’s works, but because Scott himself initiated the project and personally oversaw Schetky’s progress.

Scott’s involvement with both Schetky and Masquerier indicate that from the very start of his career, Scott was considering illustration as a legitimate publishing concern.

Indeed, the fact that he was corresponding with Masquerier in 1803, two years before the publication of *The Lay*, signals that he was writing the poem with illustrations firmly in mind. By contrast, dramatic illustrations by Richard Westall (who had worked previously on the illustrations to the Boydell edition of Shakespeare), Henry Singleton and Richard Cook, which followed Schetky's from 1809 onwards, were commissioned by London publishers without Scott's authorisation or control. Scott seems to have resisted such illustration in editions published by those over whom he had influence, namely Constable, and his friends the Ballantyne brothers, James (Scott's exclusive printer) and John (publisher of several poems, including *The Lady of the Lake*). When Scott did agree to the illustration of his novels in 1819, with his approach to Allan for the illustration of the *Novels and Tales*, he had chosen an artist whom he knew personally and trusted to represent his fiction with appropriately authentic illustrations of Scottish historical costumes and characters. The model for the early illustration of his novels was clearly not that set by the London illustrators of his own poetry, but that already established by illustrators of Burns.

Although Schetky's *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1808) was published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme in London, Schetky had been born in Edinburgh and knew Scott personally. William Todd and Ann Bowden describe how Scott arranged for the letterpress with his own printer and also obtained the patronage of the Duchess of Buccleuch for the project.⁸⁷ This personal association with the project is crucial in understanding how and why Schetky's topographical specificity and observation of real scenes differ so greatly from other illustrators' dramatic illustrations. Scott was always insistent that his illustrators were suitably familiar with the nuances of Scottish character-types and landscapes, a familiarity he saw as crucial in the artist's ability to project the characteristics of his country's history and identity. For Scott, artists such as Masquerier or Westall undermined the documentary aspects of his poetry and prose in their ignorance of costume and customs, and their unfamiliarity with the Scottish landscape.

⁸⁷ William Todd and Ann Bowden, in *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History 1796-1832*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 140.

Topography and travel literature

The other primary, and more contemporary, model for the early illustrations of the Waverley novels was the profusion of travel literature which permeated the market during the 1810s. Benjamin Colbert's "Bibliography of British Travel Writing", covering the years 1814-1818 (and excluding Britain and Ireland), provides a useful insight into the proportion of publications which were related to European travel. The premature cessation of conflict on the Continent in 1814 saw a huge number of British travellers head for the remnants of the Grand Tour, and the subsequent glut of literature in the following years reflected the scale of the exodus. For example, there was a "spike in book production for all regions... [including Britain and Ireland] from a total of 61 in 1813 to 88 in 1814". In 1818, there was a second rise from 92 to 137.⁸⁸ Colbert goes on to point out that recent research has revealed that, between 1814 and 1818, "an average of 58.4 new novels per year were published, compared with 98.8 travel titles". These travel titles are difficult to define generically, however, as they include in their number satirical, gothic and comic novels, while authors such as Mary Shelley, with *Frankenstein*, often incorporated the discourse and format of travel journals from actual journeys they had made. For this reason, picture-book travel literature in the checklist Colbert provides forms a low proportion, approximately six percent of the total, but these publications are important to the development of the illustrated Waverley novel. *Waverley* itself, published at the beginning of this period in 1814, slots perfectly into this wider niche of satirical, fashionable domestic travel literature, while Scott was concurrently involved in the publication of precisely such an illustrated travel guide to the Borders of Scotland, the *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814). As Peter Garside and Ann Stevens have pointed out, Scott consistently demonstrated a shrewd understanding and exploitation of the literary market, and, as this thesis will demonstrate, he was perfectly willing to incorporate illustration into the production and distribution of his novels where he felt they were appropriate.⁸⁹ One appropriate form

⁸⁸ Benjamin Colbert, "Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780-1840. The European Tour, 1814-1818 (excluding Britain and Ireland)" *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 13 (2004). Online: Internet (2/4/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc13_n01.html>.

⁸⁹ Peter Garside, in "Walter Scott and the 'Common Novel', 1808-1819" (<*Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 3 (1999). Online: Internet (31/3/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc03_n02.html>), argues convincingly that Scott wrote a large part of *Waverley* later than he himself claimed, in 1808 to 1809, and sat on the manuscript until such time as he could maximise its impact in the market place. Garside says that "... Scott was more in tune with the current trends and development in contemporary fiction, especially in the years immediately prior to the publication of *Waverley*, than his official aloof stance might suggest." This "aloof stance" extended to his apparent indifference to the visual arts and illustration. Ann Stevens, in "Tales of Other

of illustration, in fact, was precisely the type of image which illustrated the topography and architecture of historic sites around Scotland in domestic travel literature, sites which related to the locations he incorporated, directly or indirectly, into the Waverley novels.

This is an important point, as topographical illustrations of Scotland, produced mainly in London for English readerships, were involved in a process of “creating” Scotland in the imagination of people who would never actually see it. The Waverley novels and their illustrations, reclaimed this process for a Scottish (or British) audience: Scottish readers were being taught, through the discourse of the novels, and the subsequent imagery associated with them, how to view their *own* environment. We see again, therefore, how illustrations of the Waverley novels were utilised as much for their educational potential as their aesthetic or commercial value. In the same way that Allan’s illustrations served ethnographic and antiquarian functions in recording costumes and characters, so Nasmyth’s landscape illustrations were useful in communicating the Scottish scenery through the discourse of the picturesque, teaching Scott’s audience how to re-interpret and re-evaluate their natural surroundings. This argument will be developed in chapter 4, concerning Nasmyth’s Waverley localities and his experience with the Edinburgh travel publications during this period.

However, this project of communicating the Scottish landscape through a picturesque discourse, and in its historical context, had begun with two earlier topographical publications in particular: the *Border Antiquities*, and the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1819-26). Scott wrote historical and descriptive commentaries for both these picture-books, projects which brought him into contact not only with the processes of book-illustration, from sketch to finished plate, but also with Nasmyth. Scott’s earlier endorsement of Schetky’s ability to faithfully depict the Scottish landscape and architecture for his poetry would later be transmitted to his support of Nasmyth’s landscape illustrations of the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales*. Nasmyth would go on to become the most prolific of Scott’s illustrators during the author’s lifetime. The clearest models for Nasmyth’s designs were the tourist

Times: A Survey of British historical Fiction, 1770-1812” (*Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 7 (2001). Online: Internet (4/4/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc07_n03.html>, builds a similar case, contextualising the publication of *Waverley* within a hitherto ignored, but well established, genre of national-historical novels and stories. She points out that: “By the time Walter Scott came to publish *Waverley* in 1814, he was working within an already established genre”. This demonstrates Scott’s reading of his target market, and his ability to intuit the commercial trends in publishing of the period.

publications on which both he and Scott had worked over the preceding few years. Nasmyth had provided illustrations, and Scott commentaries, for both publications, and their working relationship, and friendship, was cemented in 1818 by their collaboration on the dramatisation of *The Heart of Midlothian* for the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh: Daniel Terry, having already married Nasmyth's daughter, employed Nasmyth as the set designer and painter for the production, while Scott was consulted on aspects of the script and costume.⁹⁰

Nasmyth's illustrations concentrate almost exclusively on topography and architecture, scenes depicted or evoked in Scott's novels, and often in their respective historical periods. The emphasis in these images on landscape and ancient structures was influenced by Nasmyth's familiarity with this genre, partly through his own landscape painting and partly through his interaction with the tourist and historical publications he had been commissioned to illustrate. Scott's literature was similarly influenced by the tourist literature of the period. Novels like *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, for example, take the reader on historicised tours across the Highland line from Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively, during different parts of the eighteenth century. While localities like Tully-Veolan and Cairnvrekan in *Waverley* were imaginary, they were based on actual mansions and villages, which meant that Nasmyth had certain models to look to when it came to illustration. A letter from Constable to Nasmyth concerning the illustrations to the *Novels and Tales* outlines the localities of which Scott was thinking when describing a certain scene, if it wasn't an actual view or structure. For example, on Scott's advice, Tully-Veolan was described to Nasmyth as being an amalgam of two buildings, "partly Craigcrook & partly Ravelston—as much of the latter as possible" (see appendix 1).⁹¹ Scott's familiarity with, and constant allusion to, the literature of the tourist industry in the early nineteenth century allowed him to appreciate the power of associating a topographical scene within its historical or fictional context as portrayed in his novels. The popularity of his novels and poems had already established a demand for the depiction of such landscape scenes by 1819, and the market for illustrated tourist publications was clearly targeted by Scott and Constable when they commissioned Nasmyth in 1818. The romanticised journeys of the *Waverley* heroes through picturesque Scotland set up a discourse of intertextuality with the illustrated travel

⁹⁰ Nasmyth's relationship with, and illustrations for, Scott will be examined more closely in chapter 4.

⁹¹ NLS, MS.791, f.68.

guides and tourist publications of the period, a discourse which could in turn be visually exploited by artists like Nasmyth who had been involved with such literature.

The earliest illustrations of the Waverley novels therefore had several precedents, but no single definitive model. This is reflected in the diversity of illustrations which appeared in the 1820s, whether dramatic, comic, antiquarian or topographical. Allan and Nasmyth began this trend of diversification, with the separation of landscape and character illustrations. Both men however were working within established traditions of illustration which dated back to the eighteenth century, albeit in different genres. Constable's appropriation of these different illustrative traditions was an attempt to appeal to several markets, while establishing Scott as the latest in a long line of great novelists deserving of an illustrated, collected edition for wide public consumption. The illustration of a living novelist on this scale also saw a shift away from the grand presentation of the great poets and signalled the new respectability of the novel in the literary market place. Later in the decade, Cadell then appropriated the discourse and production values of the gift-book culture to promote the first complete, collected and affordable edition of the Waverley novels. This appropriation was facilitated by the developments in the engraving technology in the 1820s, a technology which precipitated the development of mass-media, and which had profound repercussions for the power dynamics within the engraving trade. It also had a significance for the cultural status of the engraver: as the mechanics of reproduction improved, so the significance of the artist in the illustration process diminished, and that of the engraver rose. This power-shift can be best illustrated by describing the attempts by Scott's publishers to illustrate the novels at each end of the 1820s.

Technological development and professional recognition in engraving

The differentiating expenses on artists and engravers hint at a shift of power in the illustration industry between the time Constable was trying to illustrate the latest novels in 1820, and the time that Cadell came to illustrate *all* the novels in a compact edition in 1829. This was a shift away from the artist and towards the engraver, and it was a shift from which the publisher profited most. Dyson points out that the gradually higher prices commanded by engravers, particularly well-respected ones, were the result of the increasing respect for their artistry. Although Dyson does not mention the role of

Scott, Edinburgh or the Waverley novels in this development, the production of the *Magnum* highlights this trend perfectly, particularly when contrasted with the operation to publish the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (published by William Blackwood between 1819 and 1826) and the *Novels and Tales*. The *Provincial Antiquities* was an ambitious picture-book project to record scenes of historical and artistic interest, with images by several artists including Nasmyth, John Thomson of Duddingston, Edward Blore and Turner. While artists such as Turner characterised engravers as merely “a set of ingenious mechanics”, publishers like Cadell began to recognise the commercial value of high quality engraving.⁹² Prices seem to have related to an engraver’s reputation: the surviving contract for the *Provincial Antiquities*, for example, quotes the London engravers, Henry le Keux and George Cooke, at fifty guineas per line-engraving and twenty five guineas per etching, while the newly established, Edinburgh-based Lizars could only command thirty guineas and ten guineas respectively.⁹³ These men were working with copper plates on a larger scale to those that appeared in the *Magnum*.

In this respect, therefore, Constable and Cadell agreed: both recognised the relevance and importance of the best engravers available, while both realised that the best engravers at that time resided in London. This was true at both ends of the 1820s, and certainly all the experimentation in steel-plate engraving had occurred there, by engravers who were employed on illustrations of Scott during this period: they included Charles Warren (who engraved some of Allan’s plates as early as 1820), William Finden and Charles Heath. The technology of steel-plate engraving evolved from experiments in creating new banknotes, and it was a sign of the artisan nature of engraving at this time that engravers were working with and for the Bank of England in developing the technology to achieve the prevention of bank-note forgery from 1819.⁹⁴ Within a very few years, this technology was appropriated for book-illustration by the same men, and their success was such that steel almost eradicated copper-plate for the rest of the century in terms of line-engraving.

There were several advantages to steel. Although steel-engraving arrived in Britain as early as the 1790s, it only achieved real prestige and wide use in the early 1820s thanks to the experimentation of these men. Thomas Bewick, for example, was

⁹² Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print*, p. 57-8.

⁹³ NLS MS.3134 ff. 172, [1818]

⁹⁴ Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print*, p. 135.

working with wood in Newcastle, while Thomas Rowlandson's illustrations were etchings on copper. In the 1800s and 1810s, copper-plate engraving was the predominant technique for literary illustration. Warren was the first engraver to use a steel-plate, rather than a steel block, in 1822, for an edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* published by F. C. and J. Rivington.⁹⁵ In 1825, C. F. Partington outlined for the first time the advantages of steel engraving for book illustration where long print-runs were expected, pointing out that "it is often the case in this country, that from 4 to 6 copper plates are worn out in one edition, and not half the impressions perfect. A hardened steel-plate will print more *proof impressions* than the above number of copper plates can furnish, even of common impressions". The most succinct summation of the effects of steel-engraving on the book trade, however, was provided by T. H. Fielding in 1845:

When steel was first applied to line engraving, the immense number of impressions it was found capable of producing, enabled the publishers to offer to the world, works beautifully illustrated, at a much cheaper rate than had hitherto been done. A new class of publications, we mean the annuals, were introduced as a vehicle for spreading more rapidly the impressions from steel-plates, and the most beautiful productions of our best engravers were flung with a prodigal hand before the public, at a price for which they ought never to have been sold, and which only an excessive sale could render profitable. We are no enemies to cheapness in any thing, and still less in whatever may contribute to the mental enjoyment of the public, but when that cheapness is obtained by *the reduced income of the artist*, reduced not from extravagant gains to fair remuneration, but from fair remuneration to insufficiency; when such is the case we cannot but lament, whilst we admire the beautiful works which fill our portfolio, the sacrifice by which they have been so cheaply obtained.⁹⁶ [My italics]

Fielding underlines here the depreciating commercial relevance of the artist in the illustration process that had begun in the 1820s, and reiterates the importance of the annuals in this process. It was, it seems, as a direct result of the success of the steel-plate that the engraver and the publisher benefited, at the expense of the artist. It also points to the fact that literature lent the engraving trade a new commercial and artistic respectability which it had not previously received from the Royal Academy. From this, we can see how the novel contributed to the appreciation of the book-illustration as its *own* art-form, as opposed to a derivative, mechanical subsidiary of the visual arts. Engraving became independent of its previous reliance on the reproduction of famous paintings, a fact reflected by the shifting pecuniary values placed on the relative skills of

⁹⁵ Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print*, p. 130.

⁹⁶ T. H. Fielding, *The Art of Engraving, with the Various Modes of Operation*, (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844), p. 29-30.

the artists and engravers. With this in mind, William Home Lizars becomes an interesting case: originally an artist, he both designed *and* engraved the first ever Waverley illustration for the 1819 edition of the *Novels and Tales*, and also the title-page vignette for William Allan's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* (1820). He went on to establish the only real Edinburgh-based competitor to the London engraving trade, and was relied upon consistently to engrave Nasmyth's designs between 1821 and 1825. Lizars had clearly detected this commercial shift, and succeeded in cornering the market for Waverley illustrations in Scotland during the 1820s.⁹⁷ However, it was in London where experimentation in steel-plate engraving was being developed and applied to book-illustration.

Cadell was certainly among the first to realise the potential of steel engraving, as it allowed him to print off thousands of copies at a time, with little wear on the plates. However, it would appear from his correspondence that he was concerned at the quality of the Edinburgh printers' work with the plates, who were wearing them down at too great a speed. Cadell accordingly ordered the plates in duplicate to address this situation, and then proceeded to advertise this course of action as a consequence of the success of the publication. He wrote to Scott on 30th October 1829, outlining his reasons:

I found the sale of the Book so prosperous the trade is so good a humour with it, and the beauty of the illustrations to commence on 1 Feby so great, with the almost certain calculation of increasing the sale to a considerable extent—that ... I gave orders for two Copies of the each steel to be prepared, all the general Trade to whom I mentioned this concurred in thinking it would do the Book much good—and I propose to Advertise it very vigorously in December as carried on “with duplicate steel-plates rendered necessary by the great & increasing sale of the Work”.⁹⁸

Cadell delivered on this promise, marketing the new plates in an advertisement of December 1829. Steel had not only allowed Cadell to put the illustrated novel into a new phase of mass-production, it had also become a means of advertising. The advertisement highlights the fact that steel is being used: “the Proprietors have the

⁹⁷ However, it must be noted that Lizars shared this privilege with the Scottish engraver William Archibald, who engraved Nasmyth's designs for the *Historical Romances* and the *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley*.

⁹⁸ Extract from Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition*, p. 16.

pleasure of stating, that they are in consequence enabled to bring forward Duplicate Engravings, on Steel, of the whole Designs of the respective Artists".⁹⁹

This marketing strategy highlights the effects that the new ability to mass-produce illustrations from steel-plates had on the cultural pre-eminence of the book illustration itself. It is the book-illustration as an art form, not as a reproduction of a popular painting or the product of a famous artist, which has become the marketable commodity. The combination of improved aesthetic quality, the larger print-runs and the inexpensive production that steel allowed, changed the cultural value of the book illustration throughout the 1820s. It was the skill of the *engravers* which was priced accordingly, rather than that of the artists. The number of artists who were requisitioned to illustrate the *Magnum* edition (thirty-five in total), compared to the number of engravers involved in the preparation of the plates (thirty-six) tells its own story: the artist, as Fielding suggests, has been relegated in prominence. Cadell is not only advertising the *artists* here, (although they remain important in producing high quality images) but the plates themselves. The technology, the use of steel and the novelty of high quality, cheap images from designs by the country's top artists, are the factors which Cadell has identified as marketable. While names like Wilkie, Allan and Landseer were undoubtedly big attractions for the buying public, it is clear from the marketing of this edition that it is the steel-plate engraving itself which impresses in the marketplace. This may have had to do with the innovations in London which steel was allowing in the development of the bank-note, and the technological kudos which it brought to the production of hugely popular novels, but it also has to do with the democratisation of reading during this period. No longer were fashionably illustrated texts, like the *Provincial Antiquities*, impossibly expensive: the *Magnum* broadened the accessibility of illustrated editions for an increasingly affluent, educated, consumer-driven public. The steel-plate engravings of the *Magnum* heralded the start of a new type of publication which would gradually see authors, like Dickens, work *with* illustrators, such as George Cruikshank and Halbot Browne (Phiz) in the 1830s. The novel's periodical issue on well-presented, cheap paper with illustrations, which was affordable to a much wider cross-section of the literate middle-class, had its roots in Cadell's *Magnum*. Its success was largely thanks to the technological advances brought about by the development of steel engraving in London, and the economics of mass-

⁹⁹ Ibid.

production which Cadell mastered with the *Magnum*. Just as significantly, it marginalised the role of the artist in the engraving process: the artist was now, more than ever, an artisan, remunerated accordingly. The wider availability and accessibility of steel-engravings in the late 1820s effectively reduced the commercial value of illustrated texts: the *Provincial Antiquities*, for example, would have been undermined as outdated, even by 1828, in its reliance on copperplate engraving and the prices charged. Indeed, this may well have been the reason for its ultimate failure, but it also highlights the acceleration in the technological development of printing and engraving in the 1820s.

Reception

The success with which these new technologies were met can be judged by the reviews that the *Magnum* received from the literary reviews of the time. The following reviews were published by Cadell in Edinburgh, and his London partners Moon, Boys and Graves, with the advertisement for the first instalment of the *Magnum*, all of which emphasise the importance of the illustrations in the marketability of the edition. Firstly, the *Spectator* praises the plates (which had presumably been sent as specimens to the press by Cadell before publication) combined with the competitive price.

The Plates for Waverley are extremely good. Of the four, we prefer the title-page. Davie Gellatley is excellent, both in expression and drawing; and the dogs (they are Edwin Landseer's) are of course superb.... We should imagine that it will prove to the spirited publishers a profitable speculation, for we can hardly suppose that any man in England, who can by exertion scrape together two shillings a week, will neglect to provide himself with a copy.¹⁰⁰

As Cadell had hoped for, the reviewer is underlining both the quality of the illustrations, and the value for money which the edition promises. The *Edinburgh Observer* expresses similar admiration and excitement at the project.

The graphic embellishments of Waverley are worthy of the work; and we are sure, from the list of distinguished artists who are to give their aid to illustrate the succeeding volumes, that neither the pencil nor the burine will, in any instance, be unskilfully employed. We believe there is scarcely a

¹⁰⁰ Advertisement to *Illustrations of the Waverley Novels being a published supplementary version of the Magnum Illustrations* (Moon, Boys and Graves, London, and Cadell and Co., Edinburgh, 1829), p.3. For the plates of Davie Gellatley please see catalogue plates 6:1.

family in comfortable circumstances in the land into which a copy of this edition will not find its way,--indeed, it appears from the publishers' advertisement, that the sale has already so far exceeded even their most sanguine expectations, that a supplementary impression of Waverley is already in the press.¹⁰¹

Many of the reviews express their anticipation over the list of artists who are contributing to the illustration of the novels, which were already popular in their own right. The artists were widely known to the reading public either through their work for the annuals, or through their fame as painters. The *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* in particular anticipates the results of well known artists drawing inspiration from the massively popular novels.

Every volume is to be embellished by a frontispiece and vignette, engraved in the first style of excellence, from designs furnished by the most celebrated Artists. Wilkie, Landseer, Stephanoff, Newton, and many others, have tendered the aid of their powerful pencils, and no doubt will derive inspiration from their several themes, and put forth their whole strength in illustrating and embellishing the most popular performances of modern times.¹⁰²

These reviews underline the fact that Cadell had finally realised Constable's vision of re-packaging, re-branding and remarketing the Waverley novels for a wider readership whose tastes, at this particular point in time, were being shaped by the popular illustrated literature of the mass-media. It is important also, however, not to fall into believing that it was purely the illustrations which attracted the middle-class consumer. Charles Heath infuriated Scott by suggesting that the success of the *Magnum* was entirely due to the quality of the illustrations, perhaps hinting at the reason he ultimately only contributed one engraving to the whole suite. Jane Millgate has pointed out that much of the re-packaging emanated from Scott's new introductions and the extensive editing and emendations of the original texts, into what was essentially not the reissue of the individual novels, but the periodical issue of an entirely new and, for the first time, standardised work. The illustrations were an important part of this re-packaging and it was the most ambitious logistical enterprise of its type up to that date. Cadell understood the commercial value they would contribute to its success. He utilised the advantages of steel-plate engraving (which allowed many more prints to be produced from a single plate than the copper-plates), and the dropping costs of artists' fees which had been largely unavailable to Constable before 1826, but it was Constable

¹⁰¹ *Advertisement to Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, p. 5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

who had set the precedent for the *Magnum* with the *Novels and Tales*, *Historical Romances* and the *Novels and Romances*.

The conception of the illustrated Waverley novel, and its influence in the 1820s on the commercial and cultural value of book illustration, had various precursors, but no distinct model. Constable's innovative strategy was to appropriate illustrative trends from different literary genres, travel literature, eighteenth-century novel and poetry illustration, and the anthologised editions of the great novelists, which were all made suitable by the breadth of Scott's subject matter. The Waverley novels could accommodate not only the studies of Scottish characters, manners and costumes which illustrated editions Burns' work from the 1800s, but also landscape illustrations which were reminiscent of, and directly influenced by, the illustrated tourist literature from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. By producing the first collected edition of the novels of a living author, with a series of illustrations, Constable was attempting to align Scott with great novelists of the eighteenth century: while these publications were jeopardised and often flawed by the paucity of engravers in Edinburgh and the logistical complexities of dealing with London engravers, the *idea* was taken up by his London partners, and later by Cadell, and brought to a more successful fruition. Constable's conception of the illustrated Waverley novel marks an important moment in nineteenth-century publishing history, and although circumstances worked against him in the early 1820s, as chapter 3 will demonstrate, the momentum he established towards the illustration of the novel allowed Cadell to appropriate the latest technology to realise his idea fully. The *Magnum Opus* constituted the ultimate realisation of Constable's scheme to produce an illustrated canon for the world's best-selling, living novelist, introducing him to an even wider audience which demanded a greater degree of visual illustration. Moreover, the use of steel-engraving for the *Magnum* demonstrated the shift in publishing power-relations which would influence the working relationship of authors and illustrators in the 1830s. Engravers commanded increasingly greater respect and higher fees, while the artists themselves suffered in the face of the technology of mass-production. As the book illustration gained more prestige in the market-place, it was the "ingenious mechanics" who benefited at the expense of the artist. As chapter 3 will now reveal, Scott and his publishers played their part in this process, transforming the presentation of the novel for a changing reading public, and the efficiency by which those novels were produced for the popular market.

Chapter 3

Conception of the illustrated Waverley novel:

Scott and the mechanics of mass-media

Having examined the primary influences in the illustrated-book market on the first illustrations for the Waverley novels in chapter 2, it is now possible to look more closely at Scott's personal history and involvement with the culture of mass-media and production, and his publishers' struggles to illustrate his work. The publication of the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* in 1819, illustrated with a title page vignette by the Scottish artist William Home Lizars, constituted the first Waverley illustration. This was followed closely by William Allan's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* in 1820, and then by Alexander Nasmyth's illustrations for the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales*. Eighteenth-century novels had been variously illustrated with frontispieces, maps and woodcut engravings, but, by the end of the century, and before 1819, literary illustration was largely confined either to poets, such as Robert Burns or Scott himself, or canonical eighteenth-century novelists such as Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith or Sterne.¹⁰³ The works of Shakespeare received this treatment in the 1790s and 1800s with Boydell's illustrated edition of the complete works. However, the 1820s saw many changes, economic and technological, which culminated in the publication of the complete, edited and heavily illustrated edition of the Waverley novels from 1829 to 1833, the *Magnum Opus*, by Scott's last lifetime publisher, Robert Cadell. This edition was a publishing landmark, using developing technologies to produce a cheaper, but "handsome" edition in huge numbers for a growing, literate but less affluent middle-class reading audience. Illustration was a crucial component in the commercial success of this edition, and, given the number of volumes (forty eight, each with two illustrations), it was a formidable artistic and logistical undertaking. It involved up to thirty five artists producing ninety six illustrations, all of which had to be approved by Scott himself in Abbotsford, and which ultimately had to pass through the hands of engravers and printers in London and

¹⁰³ This is not to say that popular, contemporary novels were never illustrated during the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, but that, as generic forms, the expensive three-decker novels or collections of tales were generally published without illustration before the publication of Constable's 1819 and 1821 editions of the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. As Janine Barchas has pointed out, for example, novels such as Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall* (1762) began to be illustrated with frontispieces which emphasised locations over an individual in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Edinburgh. Only ten years previously, no Waverley novel had been published with illustration, but the problems which Cadell faced in illustrating the *Magnum* had already been encountered by Scott's first publisher, Archibald Constable, in trying to produce the first illustrated anthology by a contemporary author.

This chapter intends to focus on the technological, economic and practical issues involved in the publishing innovations which Constable and Cadell initiated in Edinburgh between 1820 and 1833. By tracing Constable's initial efforts to illustrate Scott's novels in 1819, through to Cadell's publication of the *Magnum* from 1829, we can see and understand not only the mutation of the physical presentation of the Waverley novel from the expensive, un-illustrated three-decker to the illustrated, affordable, complete collected works of the *Magnum*, but also the advances made in engraving, printing and the changing stature of the engraving trade through its success during this period. It becomes possible to trace the progression of the illustrated book from the expensive item of the 1810s and early 1820s to the cheaper, more widely circulated popular item of the 1830s which attempted to maintain the *illusion* of prestige. Using the contract from the illustrated tourist guide to Edinburgh and Scotland, *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1818-1826), on which Scott was labouring at the same time as the *Novels and Tales* were being published, it will compare and contrast the financial and technological complexities of illustrating Scott's novels at the beginning and end of the 1820s, and the growing emphasis placed on illustration for commercial success. Within this framework, it will analyse the changing power-relationships of author, publisher, artist and engraver during the 1820s.

Most importantly, however, this chapter will demonstrate Scott's complicity in the mechanics of mass-media which facilitated the production of ever-cheaper, illustrated novels. While Scott maintained a public distance from the commercial aspects of book-publishing, insisting on indifference to art and illustration, he was actually personally involved in the recruitment of illustrators, and the proofing of plates before they went to print. This was a process about which he was consistent throughout his lifetime, and his insistence on illustrators who were capable of expressing the content of his prose with due accuracy, professionalism and respect has been commonly misinterpreted as indifference. This chapter will demonstrate that not only was Scott happy to have his work illustrated, but that by the time Lizars had produced the first illustration for the novels, he had had extensive and varied experience of working with illustrators. Any

public apathy towards illustration or the visual arts reflected his anonymity and self-deprecation as the “Author of Waverley”, but contrasted with his private understanding of the commercial benefits that illustration could offer to the sale of his novels in the developing market place. He placed his trust in his publishers’ ability to move surplus stock of his novels in whatever manner they saw fit, and was open to the innovative projects of both Constable and Cadell. This willingness to compromise and innovate with the format of the novel to satisfy and exploit an increasingly consumer-driven marketplace marks Scott’s engagement with the modernity of commercial Edinburgh from his rural baronial home of Abbotsford. The illustrated Waverley novels, with their antiquarian and historical-landscape illustrations, were products of the technologies of the modern mass-media, at odds with the gentrified public image of their author.

Firstly, however, it is important to contextualise the different markets and resources in engraving available to Constable in Edinburgh, in comparison to the healthy print trade in London. While Constable must be credited with the *conception* of the first illustrated Waverley novel, in his attempts to have *Ivanhoe* illustrated as early as 1819, and the *Novels and Tales* in the same year, his ambitions were largely defeated by his enforced reliance on engravers in London, and the lack of quality engravers in Edinburgh. It also helps us to understand how, and why, first editions of the Waverley novels were being illustrated in London, from 1821, and *not* in Edinburgh. This in turn will help to emphasise Cadell’s achievements in producing the first standardised, illustrated collected edition of the novels at the end of the decade.

Edinburgh and London: negotiating different markets

The problem for Constable was that in the late 1810s and early 1820s, the market for illustrated literature was more developed and lucrative in London than it was in Edinburgh. Recent critical analysis and bibliographical checklists by Peter Garside, Rachel Howard and Benjamin Colbert for subscription novels, moral-domestic fiction and travel literature respectively, point to the fact that although Edinburgh readerships were increasingly demanding the literature being read in London throughout the 1810s and 1820s, comparatively little was actually being *published* north of the border, and of that which was published, very little was illustrated. Garside points to one subscription novel in particular, *Munster Abbey* (1797) by Sir Samuel Egerton Leigh, written and

published in Edinburgh, which found a huge market in “the residential squares of Edinburgh and London”, offering “an early glimpse of the fashionable new-town dwellers who in the next century would turn in increasing numbers to fiction”.¹⁰⁴ His checklist of subscription novels between 1800 and 1829 offer a number of examples of Edinburgh publications, none of which was illustrated, echoing the results from Howard’s checklist of moral-domestic fiction between 1820 and 1834 quoted in the previous chapter.

However, several of those illustrated novels *were* published by Constable’s London partners, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, helping to explain how *The Monastery* and *The Abbot* came to be illustrated from 1821 in London but not in Edinburgh. There are several signs in the publishing of the Waverley novels which point to the discrepancy between the popularity of illustrated texts in the two capitals during this period. For example, from 1820, first editions published by Constable’s London partners were extra-illustrated with title-page vignettes by Richard Westall and Charles Leslie, following Constable’s failed attempt to have the first edition of *Ivanhoe* illustrated in the same year. These illustrations were not included in Constable’s Edinburgh editions. Leslie’s illustrations were subsequently published separately in London by Hurst, Robinson & Co. in a picture book entitled *A New Series of Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* (1823), in the same format pioneered by Constable in Nasmyth’s *Sixteen Engravings*. In addition to this, the London partners took it upon themselves to publish their stock of the *Novels and Tales*, *Historical Romances* and *Novels and Romances* with extra frontispiece illustrations by artists and engravers based in London. For example, London’s third edition of the *Historical Romances*, published in the smaller 16o format, supplemented the Edinburgh title-page vignettes by Nasmyth with frontispiece illustrations by H. Howard, W. Brockenden, Thomas Stothard and Abraham Cooper (see fig. 4).

¹⁰⁴ Peter Garside, “Subscribing Fiction in Britain, 1780-1829”, *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 11 (2003). Online: Internet (4/4/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc11_n03.html>.

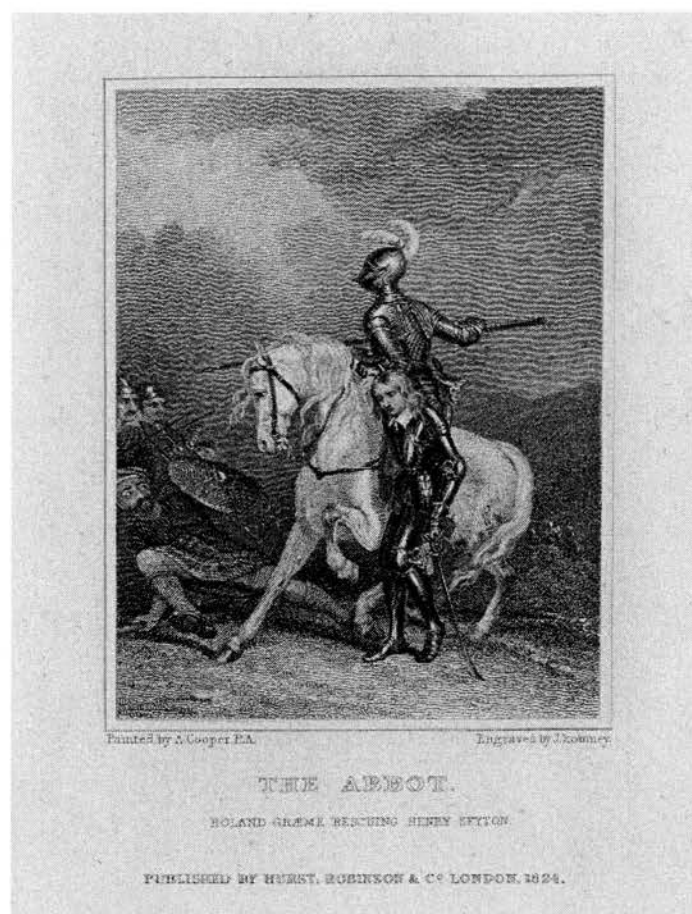


Fig. 4. Abraham Cooper, “Roland Graeme Rescuing Henry Seyton”, for the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley* (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1824), vol. 5.

The resources available to the London publishers in copper-plate engraving far exceeded those available to Constable in Edinburgh in the early 1820s. The group of artists and engravers in London formed a nucleus of illustrators, working either with copper- or steel-plates, who dominated the market in book illustration.¹⁰⁵ In Edinburgh, only the artist William Home Lizars offered the quality of engraving sought by Constable, and subsequently Cadell, in competition to the London industry. The public taste for book engravings and illustrated texts was therefore much more developed in London, where these texts were immediately available, and less easily distributed

¹⁰⁵ “Book-illustration” in this thesis refers exclusively to the illustration of high-quality, literary texts which were illustrated by copper-plate, and subsequently steel-plate, intaglio engravings, as frontispieces or title-page vignettes. It does not address the production of, for example, chapbook literature, which was heavily illustrated with woodcuts, and which often reproduced pirated versions of popular literary fiction unavailable to the lower classes at this time, including the Waverley novels. According to Raymond Lister, there were three main schools of intaglio engraving in Britain in the early nineteenth century: London, Edinburgh and Birmingham. Additionally, Thomas Bewick, illustrating texts with wood engravings, was working in Newcastle. However, of these, London was by far the powerhouse of British publishing, while Scott’s novels were published either in Edinburgh or London, on which the discussion therefore concentrates.

beyond the city during the early stages of the railway infrastructure in Britain. Many of the complications which thwarted Constable's plans to illustrate the novels were logistical, as he was unwilling to have Allan's illustrations engraved by anyone in Edinburgh, and therefore had to rely on illustrators four hundred miles away in London.

The result of this was that Constable's innovative vision for the first illustrated Waverley novels was stifled by the lack of resources available to him, and then effectively high jacked by his London partners who were capable of producing high quality engravings from designs by local well known artists. The difference in the tastes for illustrated literature between Edinburgh and London also had to be addressed. Constable first had to cultivate this market in Scotland before he could benefit from it, whereas the London audiences were well accustomed to illustrated literature, not least the Boydell edition of the complete works of Shakespeare, published between 1802 and 1803. Anthony Dyson, in his analysis of the nineteenth-century engraving trade, makes no mention at all of Edinburgh, Scott or Constable; while this is an oversight in discussing the development of the illustrated novel, it is indicative of the pre-eminence of London's engraving trade in Britain, and the innovative work undertaken by engravers like Charles Heath during this period.¹⁰⁶ As will be discussed, Cadell, with the *Magnum Opus*, benefited from the improved technology, greater professionalism in the engraving trade and lower artists' fees to realise a uniform, illustrated and affordable edition of the collected Waverley novels for the whole of the British Isles. However, here it is necessary to examine how the lack of resources available to Constable in Edinburgh at the beginning of the 1820s hampered his vision for the first illustrated editions of the Waverley novels, and how his London partners benefited from them.

Conception

In 1824, Constable articulated his vision of a new type of literature, his *Miscellany*, in the presence of Scott and his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart and James Ballantyne. Having ascertained that books, as luxury items for an aristocracy who would rather spend money on other things, had a limited market, Constable took it upon himself to target "every decent house in Britain". His plan was to produce "a three

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print. The nineteenth-century engraving trade*, (London: Farrand Press, 1984).

shilling or half-crown volume every month, which must and shall sell, not by thousands or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands—ay, by millions! ... so cheap that every butcher's callant may have them, if he pleases to let me tax him sixpence a-week!"¹⁰⁷ His original intention was to reprint *Waverley*, with the proposed *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* in the first few numbers, and that "until the whole series of his novels had been issued, a volume every second month, in this new and uncostly form... should keep the Ballantyne press going with a series of historical works, to be issued on the alternate months".¹⁰⁸ The novels, however, did not materialise in any form in the *Miscellany*. Instead, there was something for every taste, including Chambers' *History of the Rebellion*, Lockhart's *Life of Burns*, Gilbert While's *Natural History of Selborne*, Wilson and Bonaparte's *American Ornithology*, and Archdeacon Wrangham's *Evidences of Christianity*. The anticipated success did not materialise, however, because the intellectual tone and the price were too high for the audience Constable had in mind for the project.¹⁰⁹ Despite its failure, however, the *Miscellany* marked the first serious attempt to diminish the price of recent or new non-fiction for a wider market.

New fiction, in particular, was far too expensive for the kind of sales Constable imagined. Although the *Miscellany* is traditionally attributed as marking the start of Constable's attempt to broaden his market, he had in fact been experimenting with Scott's novels from as early as 1819. In February 1819, Constable bought from Scott the copyrights to all the *Waverley* novels up to and including the third series of the *Tales of My Landlord*, (*The Bride of Lammermoor*), as well as all Scott's poetry.¹¹⁰ He was quick in trying to maximise his new found potential, producing the first collected edition of Scott's novels, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, in 1819. The *Novels and Tales* were the first, illustrated collected edition of any contemporary author and signalled the first attempt by one of Scott's publishers to repackage the *Waverley* novels for a broader commercial market. A significant part of this repackaging involved the use of illustration. The 1790s saw major activity in the illustration of the novel, most notably with Rowlandson's illustrations, and the heavy illustration of Boydell's edition of the complete works of Shakespeare; some of the illustrators employed by Boydell

¹⁰⁷ John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1871), p. 564.

¹⁰⁸ John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 565.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 268.

¹¹⁰ Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), p. 5.

were subsequently put to work on Scott's poetry and novels, particularly Richard Westall who went on to illustrate London editions of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (in 1809), and *Guy Mannering* and *The Monastery* (in 1821). This was a conscious attempt to position the Author of Waverley among the great writers of the past, and poets of the present, a strategy which was later to be adopted by Cadell for the *Magnum*.

The first edition of *The Novels and Tales* was published with only one title page illustration, reproduced in all the twelve volumes, drawn and engraved by the Edinburgh artist and engraver Lizars, but the initial projected plan was for a much more varied array of images (see catalogue plate 1). The original intention was to have a suite of illustrations by William Allan.¹¹¹ This was the first effort by Constable to produce a visual counterpart for the publication of the Waverley novels. Although the attempt to have the 1819 edition of the *Novels and Tales* illustrated with twelve different plates from designs by Allan was aborted, it was not an isolated incident in trying to re-brand the Waverley novels for a wider market. In 1820, correspondence between Constable and his London partners, Hurst, Robinson & Co., reveal Constable's agitation at the failure to produce sufficient illustrations for the publication of *Ivanhoe*, which were under commission at the same time as Allan was working on his drawings. Constable wrote on 7 March 1820: "Illustrations of *Ivanhoe* Do not let this be delayed on any account—and by all means purchase Allans—".¹¹² Jane Millgate argues that Constable was involved in a process of re-creating the physical presentation of the Waverley novel with the production of *Ivanhoe*. Instead of being published, like the previous novels, in duodecimo, on demy paper "of no particular quality", *Ivanhoe* was to be published in the larger octavo format on good quality paper with a new smaller type.¹¹³ This presentation was the result of consultation between Constable, Scott, and Scott's exclusive printer James Ballantyne, and it is clear from Constable's correspondence that illustration was a part of this new approach to the physical presentation. His letters become increasingly anxious as the proposed deadline for publication approaches, as the quality of the plates were not what he had anticipated. He wrote to London, for example, on 7 June 1820 "Illustrations of *Ivanhoe*. These have not done well. They are not admired with us—

¹¹¹ Todd and Bowden, in *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 492, cite an advertisement in the *Tales of my Landlord*, 3rd series, which advertised the forthcoming publication of the collected Waverley novels with illustrations by Allan for November 1819. This plan never came to fruition due to delays with Allan's drawings and the slow progress of the engravers in Edinburgh. This episode will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter 5.

¹¹² NLS MS.23619, ff. 15.

¹¹³ Jane Millgate, "Making it New: Scott, Constable, Ballantyne, and the Publication of *Ivanhoe*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, vol. 34, no.4, Nineteenth-century, p.798.

how are they doing with you?'. It is difficult to ascertain the precise problems Constable was encountering with these particular illustrations, but what is clear is that he was forced to concede defeat in his proposed plan for illustration for the second, and not the last, time in less than two years. *Ivanhoe* was published without illustration in both Edinburgh and London in 1820, and in the same year, Allan's illustrations again failed to make publication in the *Novels and Tales*, appearing instead in a makeshift, supplementary edition called *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. Eventually, it was the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales* which was illustrated, instead, with Nasmyth's landscape illustrations.

No new Waverley novel was ever to be published with illustrations in Edinburgh: that is, neither Constable nor Cadell ever published one of Scott's new works, as they appeared in their first editions, with illustrative frontispieces or engraved title pages. It was in London that new Waverley novels were illustrated: in 1821 Westall produced illustrations for a second edition of *The Monastery* (1820), while in the same year, Hurst, Robinson & Co. published their stock of the first edition of *Kenilworth* with illustrations designed by the artist C. R. Leslie (fig. 5), which at least went some way to justifying the highest ever price demanded for a novel of 36s.6d. Their Edinburgh counterparts appeared without illustration. However, the seed of novel illustration had been sown in Edinburgh by Constable's vision for a new type of novel, which, although they remained expensive and exclusive items in the early 1820s, laid the groundwork for Cadell's cheaper *Magnum*. His correspondence with Hurst, Robinson & Co demonstrates his desire to get Scott illustrated, his irritation with the slow progress and poor quality of the work done, and gives good cause for believing that *his* idea was subsequently realised by his London partners.

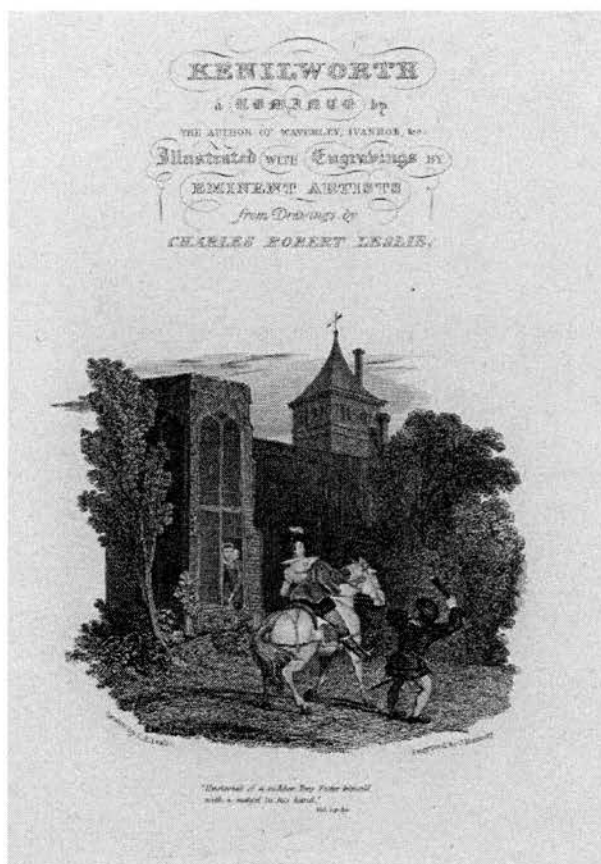


Fig 5: C. R. Leslie's illustration for title page for London edition of *Kenilworth* (1821).

So why, if Constable had been pushing so hard for several illustrated projects between 1819 and 1821, did he not manage to publish Scott with illustration before his London partners? The answer lies with the quality of engravers and printers available to him in Edinburgh. With the honourable exception of Lizars, who went on to establish a very successful and productive firm of engravers, the quality of engravers in Edinburgh was a hindrance to publishing illustrations in Scotland. Constable clearly did not seriously consider Scottish engravers when contemplating the first illustrations, proof of which is provided by a letter of 19 May 1819:

... after a consultation with the painter [William Allan, concerning the illustrations to the *Novels and Tales*], we now enclose the size that we wish them to be.... Be so good as put the drawings in hand without any delays.—Mr Heath is certainly a person of great name and respectability but would not his name to all, look too flat in the way of announcement &c.—The Illustrations to *Don Quixote* are done by

C Warren
E. Engleheart
W. Finden

R. Golding
R. Raimbach

Could one or two plates not be had from some of these?¹¹⁴

The eventual engravers for Allan's *Illustrations* were all London-based, except for Lizars who produced the title page: they included J. Romney, Charles Heath, Francis Engleheart, Charles Warren, Henry Meyer and Henry Cook. The engravers of Nasmyth's illustrations for the 1821 *Novels and Tales*, however, were completed exclusively by Lizars, supporting the hypothesis that Lizars was the only engraver in Edinburgh that Constable trusted. The situation did not improve throughout the 1820s, because by the time Cadell came to look for engravers for the *Magnum* in 1828, he too was forced to look to London. According to Millgate, Cadell wanted to have the engravings all completed in London as the engravers there were of a much higher standard than anything in Edinburgh. He later withdrew from this position, probably because of cost, but he was concerned about the resulting loss of quality and the bad manner in which the steel-plates were being worn down by the Edinburgh printers.¹¹⁵

The 1818 edition of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* published in London by T. Cadell & Davies, mentioned above, seems to have been the inspiration behind Constable's conception of the illustrated Waverley novel. His letter to Hurst, Robinson & Co. was written around the time he had initiated the work on the first edition of the *Novels and Tales*, having bought the copyrights to the novels. The idea seems to have been to position Scott in the same bracket, commercially, as the great writers of the past, including Cervantes, Shakespeare, Fielding and Smollett. The desire to use the same engravers, even to try and use some of the actual plates for *Don Quixote*, reflects the intention to correlate the format of *Don Quixote* with the productions of the Author of Waverley in the marketplace. But while Constable was pushing for illustration of the novels, he could not have done so without the approval, and help, of Scott himself. It was Scott who helped secure the services of both Allan and Nasmyth, and Scott was always insistent on having involvement with every aspect of production, at least on those novels published in Edinburgh. This was a working practice about which Scott was remarkably consistent, beginning with his rejection of the artist J. J. Masquerier (whose illustrations for the first edition of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1805 were not used) and his support for John Schetky (Scott's first illustrator in 1808), and still taking

¹¹⁴ NLS MS.790, ff. 495.

¹¹⁵ Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition*, p. 15-16.

a controlling interest in the illustrations for the *Magnum* twenty years later. Constable, therefore, deferred to Scott on all matters, including illustration; letters between the two, and between Constable and the commissioned illustrators, betray the fact that designs were selected, checked and authorised by Scott himself. His experience with Masquerier, and subsequent illustrations by English artists like Westall and Stothard in London had convinced Scott from an early stage that if he *was* to be illustrated, he wanted to have a level of control over an artist whom he could trust to reflect his own interests in local history, national costume, antiquarian objects and interiors, the Scottish landscape and architecture, and the manners of his ancestors. There were few artists who fell into this bracket, but he actively promoted those he felt did share his own concerns in projecting a Scottish national and historical identity: these included David Wilkie, Nasmyth, Allan, John Thomson of Duddingston, Abraham Cooper, Edward Blore, Edwin Landseer and C. R. Leslie.

The illustrated collected edition

A letter sent by Constable to Scott on 15 August 1821, outlines a problem which he had created for himself with the success of the first collected, illustrated edition of the Waverley novels, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1819-23). The second edition published in March 1821, with title-page vignette illustrations by Nasmyth, had met with great difficulties in production, but proved to be a commercial success. In 1821 Constable charged £6 for 16 volumes of the *Novels and Tales*, which included all the Waverley novels from *Waverley* (1814) to *A Legend of Montrose* (1819); by comparison, in the same year he charged a record 36s.6d for one new novel, *Kenilworth*. This had clear implications for the consumer: why pay so much for one un-illustrated novel (in Scotland at least), when you could buy nine with illustrations? It is precisely this problem which Constable identified.

The octavo Edition of the Novels & Tales [published in 1819] has been extremely well received, but it has interfered somewhat with the original or coarser editions, & purchasers hang back, particularly as to the Abbot & Monastery in the hope of getting them one day in the octavo form.¹¹⁶

This is an interesting observation, and articulates the changes that Scott's readership was undergoing in the early nineteenth century. Quality and price were

¹¹⁶ NLS, MS.677, ff.38.

becoming increasingly critical factors in the success of a publication. Literature was beginning to be dictated by popular taste for cheaper, more portable, illustrated books, and booksellers and publishers were forced to consider new ways of marketing and distributing such works. Constable recognised this change in consumer taste. He identified a niche in the market for the publication of cheap novels following the format of the publication of volumes of short stories, or more specifically “tales”, and of the collected works of famous novelists. A survey of collections of short stories, published between 1820 and 1829, by Tim Killick highlights the robust demand for a collectable type of fiction, which occupied printing houses and publishers like the Ballantynes, Constable, Oliver & Boyd (who published Hogg’s *Winter Evening Tales* in two volumes in 1820) and William Blackwood (who published Hogg’s *The Shepherd’s Calendar* in two volumes in 1829).¹¹⁷ Killick’s list provides firm evidence that the Edinburgh publishers had considerable success with the short story format, collections of stories by one or more authors sold in parts (though not necessarily with illustration).¹¹⁸ With the *Novels and Tales*, Constable applied this sales logic to the Waverley novel, breaking up and dividing whole novels into parts which produced sequential instalments of roughly equal proportion: *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*, for example, were broken up into three volumes, in an attempt to produce volumes of almost identical proportions and format, and very similar to that of the publication of short stories. This was a different kind of publication than the three-decker format in which the novel was traditionally published. A single instalment, for example, often included the end of one particular novel, and the beginning of the next; this, of course, would require the consumer to keep buying the instalments in order to own an entire novel, an astute sales technique which Cadell later employed with the *Magnum*. It was a successful and popular innovation with the consumer, which posed problems for the publication of *new* novels in the traditional and expensive three-decker format. From 1819 onwards, therefore, Constable was keen to exploit his new found means of moving stock. In the next paragraph of the above letter he goes on to propose another collected edition.

¹¹⁷ Tim Killick, “The Rise of the Tale. A Preliminary Checklist of Collections of Short Fiction Published 1820-29 in the Corvey Collection”. (<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc07_n04.html>: 7, December 2001, accessed 18/4/05).

¹¹⁸ Tim Killick, “Hogg and the Collection of Short Fiction in the 1820s.” *Studies in Hogg and his World* 15 (2004): 21-31. Killick also points to the popularity, and established format, of published collections of tales prior to 1820. Publications such as William Earle’s *Welsh Legends: A Collection of Popular Oral Tales* (1802), Mary Linwood’s *Leicestershire Tales* (1808), and John Gamble’s *Northern Irish Tales* (1818), paved the way for the latter proliferation of titles, and by the 1820s the title “tale” had become “the most popular denominator for fiction” (p. 22). It is therefore no surprise that Constable’s title for the collected edition included the word “Tales”, as this was the market he was targeting in reformatting the novels for a broader commercial appeal.

I would be very glad to see *Ivanhoe*, the *Monastery*, *Abbot & Kenilworth* in an octavo form the appearance of which would enable us to gratify those who wish to possess the books in that form, & to a certain extent would be quite a safe speculation. They would make six volumes, & with the Author's approbation, I would propose that they appeared under the title of "Historical Romances by the Author of *Waverley*".¹¹⁹

This proposed edition did in fact become the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley*, which appeared as suggested above in the 8vo format in June 1822. This publication carried on in precisely the same tradition as the original *Novels and Tales*, even down to the title-page illustrations designed by Nasmyth, engraved by W. Archibald.

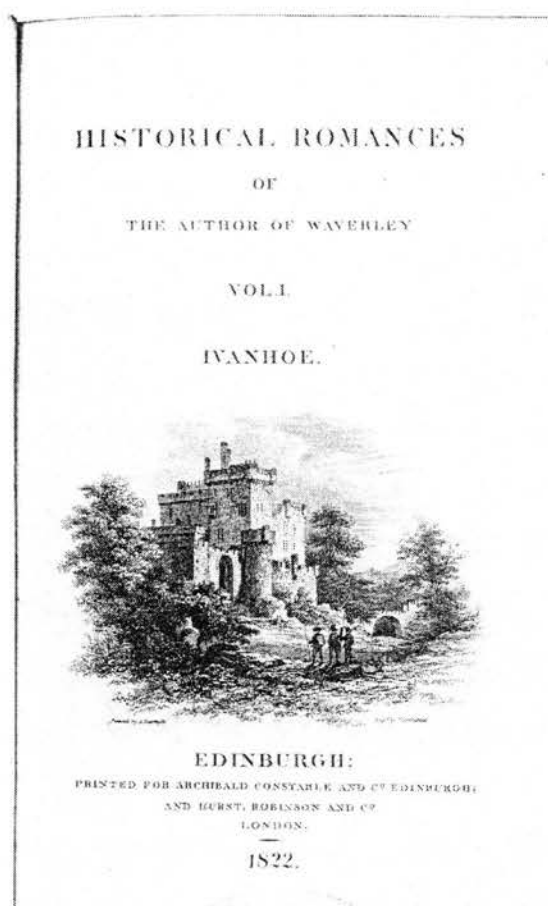


Fig. 6: Alexander Nasmyth, "Castle of Torquilstone", for volume I of the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley*, (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1822)

The *Historical Romances* was, in essence, not so much a separate publication, but a continuation of the *Novels and Tales*, following on sequentially from *A Legend of*

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Todd and Bowden state that only 500 copies of the first edition of the *Novels and Tales* were printed and sold by Constable in 1819. The success with which he perceived the project to have met must have emanated from the speed with which they sold.

Montrose, and bringing the collector up to date with the latest available novel. Again, the price was attractive, costing £3.12.0 for six volumes, comprising the four most recent Waverley novels. Published only a year after the first appearance of the final novel in this series, *Kenilworth*, the *Historical Romances* is a clear recognition of the success of this new form of novel distribution, in contrast to the more affluent but smaller market targeted by the expensive first editions of the new Waverley novels. Constable had been looking for ways in which to repackage the novels for an expanding, middle-class audience from as early as 1818, and this was his solution. The *Novels and Tales* were published in five editions between 1819 and 1825, followed by three editions of the *Historical Romances* (between 1822 to 1824), and finally three editions of the *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1824 to 1825). This last publication was to be Constable's final variation on this theme before his death, and faithfully followed the format of the previous two editions. All three of these publications were produced in successively smaller formats: the first was on 8vo, the second 12mo, and the third 18mo.¹²⁰ Again, Nasmyth was the illustrator of choice, producing a total of thirty three illustrations for the Waverley novels between 1821 and 1825, as well as illustrating a collected edition of the *Poetical Works* (1821).

This serialisation, and standardisation, of the Waverley novels was a definitive move towards the commodification of Scott's works in the literary market place. If the annuals, which began to appear around 1823, accentuated the *form*, or appearance, of the book over its content, Constable's early collected, illustrated editions certainly anticipated this developing consumer taste. The re-issue and re-branding of the Waverley novels turned them into collectors' items, anticipating the growing bourgeois literary taste in the 1820s for fashionable coffee-table objects. Previously expensive novels, largely available to the average reader only through the circulating libraries, became obtainable objects of conspicuous consumption for a growing, literate middle-class Edinburgh. It was this market Constable had identified with the first edition of the *Novels and Tales* in 1819, and which he continued to target with his illustrated editions, and the *Miscellany*, until his death in 1826. The collected editions help to mark a period in publishing history in which literature started to become commodified, its form becoming as important to the consumer as the content. It was a signifier of modernity

¹²⁰ These paper sizes are dictated by the number of sheets that were produced by folding a single sheet of paper to be printed on. The folded sheets were cut to produce the pages of the respective sizes. For example, octavo (8vo) was folded to produce eight leaves of paper (or sixteen pages), 12mo twelve leaves (or twenty four pages), and the 18mo eighteen leaves (thirty two pages).

and mechanisation in Scotland, and the Waverley novels' contribution to this culture was significant. Scott and his publishers were always conscious of their market's tastes, and consistently drove to maximise the potential of their main asset, the popularity of the Author of Waverley. The Waverley novels, in their collected, illustrated form, signify an embracing of the modern technologies, processes and commercial dictates of a mass-media, targeting a growing bourgeois readership, by their author and publishers. Of course, Scott publicly distanced himself from such un-Romantic notions of labour and profit, but as this thesis will demonstrate, he was privately open to innovation and modernisation. The illustration of his novels was such an innovation.

The standardised sizes of these editions made the illustrated Waverley novels very desirable items for an increasingly materialistic market in the 1820s, and they set a template for Cadell's *Magnum Opus* edition, the first complete collection of the Waverley novels. The advantage Cadell had over Constable, however, was that he was managing Scott's copyrights at the end of Scott's life, allowing him ultimately to produce the first, complete, retrospective collected edition of the novels; Constable by contrast was evolving a collected edition as the novels were being written, publishing them first as separate novels and then incorporating them, as soon as he had bought the copyrights from Scott, into the latest collected editions. Constable was also unfortunate not to have had at his disposal the full benefit of the technological developments in printing and engraving which, by 1828, Cadell had appropriated for the initial stages of the production of the *Magnum*. This was not for want of trying, however. Constable had successfully identified the gap in the market for a collectable illustrated edition of the novels, and was working towards satisfying it, as a letter to Scott of 9 March 1822 underlines.

It occurred to me some months ago that there was a large class of readers who might desire to possess a uniform edition in a small size, beautifully printed of the Novels, Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley and I found no difficulty in the disposal of 500 copies of that work, a transaction of which perhaps you may have heard, I also arranged for a similar impression of your poetical works, of which since we acquired the shares of the Lady of the Lake in Feby 1819 – there have been three editions printed, the 12 vol edition is entirely sold off – the 8vo edition in 10 vols is nearly gone and the edition in 8 vols which has just appeared is selling to a wish, but this last should have had vignette Title pages—¹²¹

¹²¹ NLS, MS.677, ff.60.

This letter confirms the popularity of the *format* of book which he identified for the novel, and his last comment here is easily overlooked. Illustration was central to the increasing popularity of this form of publication, and its importance is often underestimated.

Authorial complicity

Scott's poetry had been illustrated from as early as 1808, particularly in London by artists like John Schetky, Thomas Stothard and Richard Westall. These topographical and narrative illustrations were reproductions on copper-plates from original paintings, in the tradition of the late eighteenth-century art trade, published in separate volumes intended to be extracted and then bound into the private owner's respective volume of poetry. The first ever example of this provides the perfect insight into the early collaboration and reciprocity between an author and his illustrator in the early nineteenth century: Schetky's *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1808) was compiled with the full cooperation of the poet, as the editor proudly announces.

The descriptions annexed to these views are compiled from *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and other works of Mr. Walter Scott, who has obligingly revised the whole, and supplied several additional Anecdotes.¹²²

The *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published in 1805, was illustrated by Schetky with topographical illustrations relating thematically to the poem, images which were in turn contextualised by historical anecdotes by Scott. This was a working practice which would be repeated in the tourist picture-book publications, *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814) and *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1819-26). Constable's innovation was to extend this practice to the illustration of the contemporary novel.

Although Scott was willing to embrace the illustration of his novels when necessary, it seems it was his publishers who always took the initiative. Illustration clearly lent the novels much more appeal in an expanding marketplace, and while Scott

¹²² *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel: Consisting of twelve views on the Rivers Bothwick, Ettrick, Yarrow, Teviot, and Tweed. Engraved by James Heath, R.A. from designs taken on the spot By John C. Schetky, of Oxford*, (Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, London, 1808).

was happy to comply with Constable and Cadell's vision of collected, illustrated editions, it was the publishers who pushed for illustrations and facilitated their incorporation. Scott was happy to bow to his publishers' greater wisdom in the business of bookselling. His admiration for Constable, for example, is clear in a letter he sent to him in 1822 concerning the proposed *Novels and Romances*.

I admire how you have moved off your stock. You certainly have the knack as Captain MacHeath's song so fatal to Deacon Brodie has it of "turning all your lead to gold." You know my way of thinking on those matters. I never wish to make a bargain by which the bookseller shall not have his full share of the advantage because the talent of writing & the power of selling books are two very different things and as it [is] difficult or impossible to cram a bad book down the throats of the public so there are many of the Trade in whose hands a good one is perfectly stationary.¹²³

It was this willingness to defer to his publisher's judgement in moving off surplus stock which precipitated the first illustrated novels being produced. Scott's openness to new ways of moving off stock allowed Constable to innovate how he saw fit, albeit with the author's approval and involvement. Scott understood illustration, and the increasing necessity for it through the 1820s, as a necessary part of the book trade, and while he was perhaps unenthusiastic about this trend, he was quite prepared to do what was necessary to move his books off the shelves. He saw himself as one component of a larger machine, as he describes in the introduction to his 1822 novel, *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Here, the fictional narrator Captain Clutterbuck takes us into Constable's bookshop where we meet the pseudonymous "Author of Waverley" in person. A discussion ensues in which the Author underlines his own position as a productive labourer, involved in the creation of a commodity, the book.

If a new commodity, having an actual intrinsic and commercial value, be the result of the operation, why are the author's bales of books to be esteemed a less profitable part of the public stock than the goods of any other manufacturer? ... Without me it could not exist.¹²⁴

Kathryn Sutherland has analysed Scott's view of his role in the production process as expressed in this chapter. Following Adam Smith's model of the division of labour in production and manufacture, Scott presents himself "as the workman whose creative effort is one stage in the book's manufacture, the value of which will be added to the end

¹²³ Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 7:104, 23 March, 1822.

¹²⁴ Walter Scott, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1886), pp. 33-34.

product in the same way as the labour of the printer or the binder”.¹²⁵ If this is the case, the artist and engraver simply come to represent another stage in the production process. This analogy of author as labourer is explored further in the introductory chapter to *The Betrothed* (1825), in which a general meeting of the characters and fictional narrators from previous novels is called, chaired by the Author of Waverley. The novels, *his* novels, are referred to again in terms of “labour”, “profit”, “commodity” and “common success” and his readership, by association, “consumers” rather than “readers”. As Sutherland points out “the reader was for Scott, as for Dickens after him, a consumer whose good will and confidence, even complicity, were stimulants to narration”.¹²⁶ The introductions to *The Fortunes of Nigel* and *The Betrothed* are celebrations of Enlightenment principles of the division of labour which has led to their enormous financial success. Scott was engaging surreptitiously in the processes of mass-production, under his guise of the “Author of Waverley”, a guise which allowed him to disassociate his public, gentrified persona from the profit-driven labourer he perceived himself to be. This became increasingly the case after his insolvency in 1826, when, having vowed to write off his debts, he could not afford to be too particular about how his books were sold. His publishers, therefore, had few problems in persuading him that illustration was sure to increase circulation, although Scott always maintained as much authorial control as he could over the choice of artist and the proofing of plates. While Cadell took the initiative in appropriating illustrators and overseeing the engraving stage of the plates, Scott proofed the plates before they went to press, and was, as with Abraham Cooper, Allan and David Wilkie, active in helping appoint the artists where possible.

It is easy to overlook Scott’s personal input into the illustration of his work throughout his career. His resistance to inferior (as he saw it) illustration by artists he felt to be too unsympathetic to the styles, traditions and ethnological concerns of his work has been traditionally interpreted by many as indifference to the visual arts. Gillen D’Arcy Wood, for example, says that Scott was personally “indifferent to art”, but that, despite this, his works triggered a revitalisation of British history painting in the early nineteenth century.¹²⁷ J. R. Harvey argues, similarly, that “he was interested only if the pictures helped make the money he needed so badly. Late in life the success of other

¹²⁵ Kathryn Sutherland, “Fictional Economies: Adam Smith, Walter Scott and the Nineteenth-century Novel”, in *ELH*, 54, no. 1 (1987): 97-127.

¹²⁶ Kathryn Sutherland, “Fictional Economies”, p. 104.

¹²⁷ Gillen D’Arcy Wood, *Shock of the Real*, p. 174.

illustrated works, such as [Samuel] Rogers's poems, put him on the alert; but his attitude was simply that he 'must try to make the new edition superior by illustrations and embellishments as a faded beauty dresses'."¹²⁸ While there can be little doubt that Scott became more enthusiastic about the illustration of his works in his later life, when he was trying to write off his debts, the accusation that his interest in illustration was purely commercially motivated is unfair, and does not take into account the consistent pains he took over appointing suitably qualified illustrators from the earliest days of his poetry, to the final instalments of the *Magnum*. Illustration had artistic and educational merits which Scott was happy to embrace where he felt it appropriate.

Scott's experience of illustration: *The Provincial Antiquities*

Scott's participation and consent was essential in Constable's, and subsequently Cadell's, efforts to illustrate the Waverley novels. Scott had had professional interest and practical experience in the illustration of his work throughout his writing career, using illustrators for his poetry when he felt they were suitable, and participating in the travel literature of the 1810s, although publicly he always maintained a discreet distance from the mechanics of the illustration process. His most formative early experience with book illustration came during his participation in the writing and periodical publication of *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*. Published by William Blackwood between 1819 and 1826, *The Provincial Antiquities* was essentially a visual tour through Scotland's most picturesque and historically interesting landmarks, with supporting historical commentaries by Scott. According to Gerald Finley, the conception of the *Provincial Antiquities* was Scott's: he proposed the project to his fellow shareholders when he realised that he had collected an enormous amount of material on Scotland's history and archaeology which he felt should be published. Katrina Thomson challenges this assumption: she points out that correspondence between Scott and three friends, the artists Edward Blore, John Thomson of Duddingston and William Home Lizars, suggests that the conception was the result of joint discussions, rather than purely Scott's.¹²⁹ Either way, Scott felt that illustration

¹²⁸ J. R. Harvey, *Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), p. 8.

¹²⁹ Katrina Thomson, *Turner and Sir Walter Scott. The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1999), p. 15.

was essential in making the project as attractive as possible to the buying public.¹³⁰ This is an indication that Scott not only understood the commercial value of illustration to such a venture, but that he had a particular market in mind. That market was the public which sought out heavily illustrated tourist publications, of the type which artists like J. M. W. Turner, the English landscape painter, had been illustrating for several years by this point (fig. 7). Indeed, when Turner was approached by the proprietors, he was already engaged on other such projects, including W. B. Cooke's *Southern Coast* (1814-26), Whittaker's *History of Richmondshire* (1818-23), and James Hakewill's *A Picturesque Tour in Italy*.



Fig 7: J. M. W. Turner, "High Street, Edinburgh", engraved by H. Le Keux for the *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland* (1819-1826).

This image of the Royal Mile in Edinburgh is a typical, high-class example of the type of illustration produced in the tourist picture-books of this period: it is a large, copperplate engraving, demonstrating Turner's command of the medium before the emergence of steel-plate engraving in the mid-1820s. As Benjamin Colbert has recently pointed out, travel literature dominated the market place during the 1810s, outselling the production and sale of novels by almost two to one in 1818: Scott was therefore

¹³⁰ Gerald Finley, *Landscapes of Memory: Turner as Illustrator to Scott*, (California: University of California Press, 1980), p. 49.

working, and thinking, within a well established medium, the literature of the tourist in Europe and Britain.¹³¹ The major difference between a work such as the *History of Richmondshire* and the contemporary *Provincial Antiquities*, however, is the latter's greater emphasis on text over image. While the two publications appear identical, with large copper-plates and supporting texts, Scott's commentaries provide significantly more historical detail and anecdote than Whittaker's. The differences are conceptual: the *Provincial Antiquities* was conceived as a visual project which was to support a large amount of historical and topographical research, whereas publications like the *History of Richmondshire* were primarily conceived as visual projects, the texts providing subservient contextualisation to the image. While Scott understood and played to the market for visual tours of Britain, therefore, he also manipulated the medium to conform to his literary, documentary requirements. This manipulation would serve his purposes in illustration of his novels, and it demonstrated his grasp of a market familiar with, and hungry for, topographical imagery: early landscape illustrations of his novels, most notably by Nasmyth, conformed specifically to this market.

The illustrations for the *Provincial Antiquities* were large scale, grandly presented copper-plate engravings from designs by well-known artists, including Turner, whose participation in the project was seen as crucial to the success and broader commercial appeal of the project. Blore, for example, wrote to Scott on 20 October 1818, to tell him that "We cannot too highly appreciate the advantages which his [Turner's] name is likely to confer on our work."¹³² The reasons for Turner's importance were manifold: not only was he clearly the most prolific, talented and high profile artist working in Britain at the time, but his name was also associated with previous, highly successful projects, and he was at the forefront of the development of engraving technology. He had trained from a very young age as a copperplate engraver when working for *Walker's Copperplate Magazine* and *The Oxford Almanack* in the 1790s, where he was taught by the engraver John Basire. By 1820 he was the leading illustrator in Britain, and during the years in which the *Provincial Antiquities* was published, he contributed to the innovation in steel-plate engraving. In fact, so important was he to the publishers that Turner managed to engineer for himself a high price for his drawings, as reflected in the surviving contract:

¹³¹ Benjamin Colbert, "Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780-1840. The European Tour, 1814-1818 (excluding Britain and Ireland)" *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 13 (2004). Online: Internet (2/4/05): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc13_n01.html>.

¹³² NLS MS.3889, f.217.

It is agreed that Mr. Turner shall execute such drawings as may be required of him at a sum not exceeding Twenty five Guineas if taken on the spot and Twenty Guineas if made from sketches and that Mr. Thomson shall execute such drawings or paintings as may be required of him at the rate of ten Guineas for each finished drawing and ten Guineas for each slight one...¹³³

All the other artists involved received the same amount as Thomson, making Turner a privileged and conspicuously better paid contributor than his counterparts. As the proprietors saw it, the success of the publication would justify this outlay, and Scott clearly learnt an early lesson about the importance to the success of an illustrated book: to be successful, the necessary costs must first be sacrificed in order to ensure the highest quality. If Scott was ever indifferent to certain works being illustrated, he did acknowledge the financial rewards to be reaped from “embellishment”. Moreover, his appreciation of the talents of the artists involved on the *Provincial Antiquities* was reflected by his (partial) remuneration for this publication: the contract states the agreement that he would be presented “with the drawings and paintings which his descriptive manuscript illustrates”.¹³⁴ Among the illustrations (that is, the original watercolours from which the plates were then worked up) which Scott kept were Turner’s: his six small vignettes were framed in one frame made from a piece of oak taken from the Abbotsford estate, and remained in Abbotsford until very recently. His reasons for this were outlined in a letter to Blore, dated 16 June 1823, when it had been made clear to him that the *Provincial Antiquities* was failing commercially:

If this shall eventually be a losing undertaking to the sharers I cannot possibly think of retaining the original drawings without making some compensation especially as they are *greatly more valuable* than any library assistance I can render.¹³⁵ [My italics]

Despite his modesty, Scott does identify the commercial value of the illustrations in their original form, and he held onto them as much for collateral as for their technical and aesthetic qualities.

The Provincial Antiquities was an important moment in the conception of the illustrated Waverley novel. Nasmyth contributed one illustration, “Edinburgh from the Glasgow Road” (1820), anticipating his illustrations to the *Novels and Tales* (1821). However, it also highlighted for Scott the logistical and practical complexities involved at this time in producing illustrations. The initial intention was that Scott’s texts would

¹³³ NLS MS.3134 ff. 172 [1818]

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ MS 3029, f.34.

support the illustrations: the completed proof designs were sent to Scott who then wrote his commentary to fit the view depicted. However, the engraving process was so laborious and slow that Blore wrote to Scott in 1821 to advise him that this practice was no longer viable. Instead, Scott was asked to write more general passages about a given topographical area or scene *without* the images, as they could not be supplied on time or with any regularity. Thus the tone of the volume changed around the year 1821 from being dictated by the image to being dictated by the text. Image and text effectively switched illustrative roles. As Finley describes, the whole conception of the *Provincial Antiquities* changed because of the “erratic production of the paintings and watercolours and the length of time required to have the designs engraved”.¹³⁶ An example of the difficulties facing the trustees and publishers can be found in the proofs: Scott’s descriptions of plates appear in entirely different volumes to their respective images, as engravers were not producing their plates on time or in coordination with Scott’s commentaries. Moreover, in the position which should be inhabited by Nasmyth’s image of “Edinburgh, from the Glasgow Road”, there is a small printed note inserted which says: “The View of Edinburgh from the Glasgow Road, painted by Mr. Naysmyth [sic], which should have appeared in this Number, owing to the illness of the Engraver not enabling him to finish it, will appear in the next.”¹³⁷ This is a prosaic example of complications which would arise with such a grand, protracted project, complications which would afflict Constable during the same period.

However, Scott’s pre-eminence in the author-publisher-artist-engraver-printer relationship remained constant, and deference to the author in all things practical with regard to the publication of his work remained intact throughout his life, although Cadell would challenge it during the production of the *Magnum*, as this chapter will discuss. The inception of the *Provincial Antiquities* in 1818 was concurrent with that of Constable’s *Novels and Tales*, and his first attempts to illustrate Scott: it was also the moment in which Scott, reluctantly or otherwise, chose to embrace the idea of illustration for the benefit of sales, possibly having been convinced by his publisher, but also due to his own understanding of the commercial power that illustration held in the market through his experience with the *Provincial Antiquities* and the *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* before that. The designs that Lizars and Nasmyth produced were thematically linked to the historical landscapes produced for the *Provincial*

¹³⁶ Gerald Finley, *Landscapes of Memory*, p. 58.

¹³⁷ NLS, MS.RB.1.44, no. IV.

Antiquities, illustrations depicting topographical sites of thematic and touristic interest, and supporting texts which provided the reader with a cultural, narrative framework. *The Provincial Antiquities* provides an insight into the healthy, symbiotic relationship that text and image enjoyed in the printed book before the first illustrations of the Waverley novels appeared, and underlines Scott's own participation in this arena: the experience gained by both author and his early illustrators was translated from these topographical projects to the illustration of the historical novel.

Publishing power-relations: authorial control

As with all illustrated publications at this time, there was a complex relationship between author, publisher, artist, engraver and printer: the publisher was in the centre of this relationship as the facilitator, through whom all parties negotiated. Anthony Dyson articulates the intricate logistical problems of book illustration in the early nineteenth century: speaking about the same publication of *Don Quixote* which impressed Constable, mentioned above, he describes how plates and proofs "went backwards and forwards between the publishers in the Strand, McQueen's at 72 Newman Street, and the addresses of Edward and William Finden, James Heath, Charles Warren and the other engravers employed".¹³⁸ Partially completed plates had to be proofed for the engravers' reference in subsequent working, and completed plates had to then be sent to have their titles engraved or altered at further cost. Add to this already complex arrangement the fact that, with Scott's publications, Scott himself insisted on approving and proofing the illustrations personally, and we can begin to understand the hurdles facing Constable in producing an illustrated edition in time for the projected publication date. William Allan actually made matters even more difficult, taking an age to produce his designs. Chapter 5 will deal with the problems more specifically in the failed attempt to illustrate the *Novels and Tales* with Allan's designs, but Constable's correspondence articulates his increasing impatience with the progress made firstly by the engravers in producing the plates of the drawings sent to them from Edinburgh, and then with Allan's painfully slow progress.

¹³⁸ Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print: The Nineteenth-Century Engraving Trade*, (London: Farrand Press, 1984), p. 37.

The investment into any illustrated edition was considerable for Constable, as was the risk. He writes, for example, to his London partners on 29 September 1820 concerning the by now failed attempt to publish Allan's illustrations with the *Novels and Tales*:

The cost of these are heavy. You talk of Allans price—the fact is, we could not get *him* for less—and your Smirkers *could not illustrate these books*—they could make pictures we grant—the only objection we make to your statement is *the prices*—the 8vo and the 12mo we consider as greatly too base—they will fall to be £1.11.11 and 1.4/or 25/—¹³⁹

High production costs for illustration led to high prices for the final product. In fact, the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, a slim volume of Allan's twelve illustrations, supported by the relevant extracts from the novel, was priced at 24s for the 12mo, and at £1.11.6 for the 8vo, almost as much as the latest Waverley novel. However, when Constable insists that Allan was the only suitable man for the job, he is echoing the view of the author: Scott did feel that Allan was the only suitable candidate to complete the kind of illustrations which would complement the antiquarian, national and historical authenticity of his novels. Scott consistently despaired of the English artists who paid little attention to the detail of regional costume, character, architecture or landscape which his prose evoked. It is interesting to note, therefore, that it is Scott who took a level of interest and control over who was illustrating his work. As with other aspects of publication, he took personal and professional interest in the physical presentation of his novels, and he felt that the artists illustrating him had to be suitable: they were preferably personally known to him, and capable of producing the type of image he felt suited his work. William Allan and Alexander Nasmyth fell into this bracket, and it was these two artists who would set the precedent for his illustrations in the early 1820s with their contributions to the *Novels and Tales*.

As the initial publication date of the *Novels and Tales* was pushed further and further back, Constable had the idea to publish it, if possible, to coincide with the coronation celebrations of King George IV. He wrote to his London partners on 27 May 1820:

... we have it in head to launch them and Maturins Tale so as to meet the Coronation—London will then contain a vast number of folk who have

¹³⁹ NLS, MS.23619, ff.98. "Smirkers" is a derogatory reference to the English artist and illustrator Richard Smirk.

money to spend, and must have food for the mind as well as the eye—at any rate, this is our present impression—we may be wrong for all this—¹⁴⁰

Constable saw this public occasion, and the holiday spirit it inspired in the affluent, literate public as the perfect opportunity for the publication and success of several of his projects, including *The Abbot*. Again, the engravers were too slow, and this deadline was also missed. Constable does outline the type of market he was targeting however. This is the popular market which Constable was trying to attract with illustrated volumes of the works of one of the world's best-selling novelists. It was different from the market which Cadell would later target: Constable was still at this point producing expensive books, to which illustration only added material value, while Cadell aimed at a lower but broader market of the literate but less affluent novel-reader with cheaper but well-presented publications. In fact, it was the advances in the technology of engraving during the 1820s which allowed Cadell to produce cheaper illustrated books; in 1820 Constable had to deal with high fees for artists and engravers, slow production, and soft copper-plates which would only produce a limited number of impressions before being worn down, whereas Cadell had steel-plates at his disposal and an increasingly professional engraving industry competing for his business.

Ultimately, it seems that it was the engravers who held up and sabotaged Constable's plans for the illustrated collected edition of the Waverley novels. His correspondence with Hurst, Robinson & Co. reveals his constant irritation with the engravers. In a letter of 15 April 1820, for example, he wrote:

We have been disappointed at Allan's Illustrations having been so long delayed by the Engravers and we must trust to you pushing them forward that the Season may not go by – particularly now that so many other Illustrations are announced - & you know you have a considerable stake in Allans as well as ourselves—¹⁴¹

The season did go by, however, and Constable clearly felt powerless in gaining any kind of momentum. He had to rely on his London partners to pursue the engravers, the proofs then had to be returned to Edinburgh, passed back to Allan, checked by Scott, then returned back to London through Constable for the engravers to complete. The full complexity of this arrangement, and the reasons behind the ultimate failure to meet Constable's deadlines, are underlined by a letter he wrote to Hurst, Robinson & Co. on 18 February, 1820:

¹⁴⁰ NLS, MS.23619, ff.53-4.

¹⁴¹ NLS, MS.23619, ff.36.

Dear Sirs,

With this we hand the three last of Allan's Designs to illustrate the Novels and Tales – and beg that no time may be lost in getting *into*, and *out of*, the hands of the Engravers—we send Mr A's own letter as to those of which we had proofs last—we quite agree with him that the line round the print is *bad* and must be taken out, and do try to get the alterations he wishes made by [Charles] Warren—as a short period should now finish these prints we have to beg of you to send us proofs of all that are finished—to enable us with the assistance of the Author and artist to fix good titles for them—[...] pray do this at your earliest convenience—and say when you think the whole may be ready for publication—[...] The Meeting of Meg Merilies engraved by Warren is returned to be altered in Conformity with Mr Allans remarks—Mr A is anxious that Warren should have that now sent from the Antiquary to do--¹⁴²

For Constable, the weak link is the engraving process, and having to pass plates and proofs backwards and forwards between the artist and the engraver in Edinburgh and London respectively. It highlights the disadvantage Constable faced in not having an Edinburgh engraver whom he could bully himself. It is worth noting that the one engraving to be completed in Edinburgh, the title page by Lizars, was completed well within the deadline.¹⁴³ Allan himself was proving a problem also, taking a long time to produce his sketches and then being critical of the proofs when they came back to him, no doubt under Scott's prompting. He wrote, for example, to Constable on 18 February 1820 concerning an illustration for *Guy Mannering*:

Dandy Dinmont is not what I could have wished, the left arm of Meg would require to be carefully looked over and helped, Brown is too young and his dog, Wasp, is more like a shorn sheep than a Scotch terrier. From Mr. Warren's reputation and the beautiful works I have seen of his doing, I would have expected a better thing.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² NLS, MS.23619, ff. 11.

¹⁴³ Constable reported to his London partners on 28 June 1820 that "our part, that is, the vignette, may be considered as done—we hope in a very few days to send you the copper—". NLS, MS.23619, ff.63.

¹⁴⁴ EUL MS. La.II.648/3.

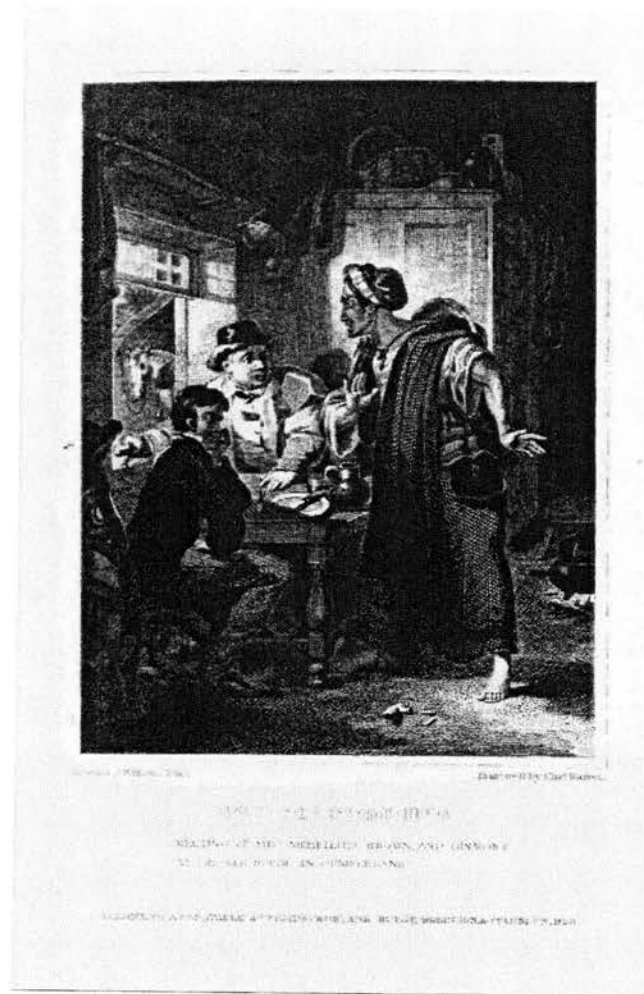


Fig.8. William Allan, “Meeting of Meg Merrilies, Brown and Dinmont in the Ale House in Cumberland”, for Guy Mannering in *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820).

As welcome as Allan’s attention to detail may have been, it was not conducive to the tight deadlines and financial constraints of the publishing industry. Delays meant money. It had been a costly exercise for Constable, one in which he had invested heavily. In a letter of 20 June 1820, he admitted that Allan’s fee had risen from £300 to £800: “we are afraid Allans Illustrations do not move well on—we are £800 in advance for them”.¹⁴⁵ The rise in fees had resulted from Allan’s slow progress. This was in part as a result of Scott’s insistence on proofing the sketches and final drawings, which held up the whole process. However, this process of proofing the sketches and plates would continue throughout his lifetime, often at the specific requests of the artists themselves who sought approval from the author through Constable. Constable was perhaps too

¹⁴⁵ Letter to Hurst, Robinson & Co., NLS, MS.23619, ff.65. In a letter of 15 April, 1819 to the Duke of Buccleuch, Scott wrote that Constable had offered Allan £300 for a suite of illustrations.

deferential to Scott in this matter, making the logistics of the operation over-elaborate and too time-consuming; Cadell would later avoid this pitfall by taking more initiative in finding artists and engravers, and commissioning illustrations while keeping Scott involved in a less supervisory role.

Cadell: illustrating the *Magnum Opus*

The level of authorial control exerted by Scott, while not by-passed, was challenged by Cadell with the illustrations for the *Magnum* (1829-33), and with great success. While Constable must be credited with conceiving the illustrated Waverley novel, it was Cadell who realised its full potential, and he did so by taking greater control over the proofing and production process. While Scott was still deferred to with proofs and suggestions for subject matter, when necessity arose Cadell took matters into his own hands. The conception of the *Magnum* was his, and he wanted to make sure that production costs were controlled and kept to a minimum, which involved producing ninety six plates within tight deadlines and to the best possible standards, despite protestations of engravers. In essence, he professionalized the process by taking personal control of matters, using Scott as a consultant rather than as a creative force. An example of this is seen in the first volume of the interleaved set of Waverley novels, the introductory notes provided by Scott for *Waverley* in which, following the handwritten introduction to the new edition, Scott has written a list of suggestions for illustrations for the first thirteen volumes (see appendix 2). It is an interesting list, as Scott has chosen illustrations he has approved of in previous editions, all by Allan for the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, or by C. R. Leslie for *A New Series of Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* (1823): underneath this list, however, in Cadell's handwriting, is a note that reads "*Courbould – Newton – Leslie – Landseer (Edwin) Stephanoff and Cooper are the Artists in view for illustrating the above anew*".¹⁴⁶ Cadell here is asserting his authority on the project, Scott has been overridden in a way that Constable would not have done. Cadell personally recruited these artists, while relying on Scott to persuade the bigger names such as David Wilkie. Cadell stood firm in his intention to produce a new edition: the emphasis on the word "anew" is important, because the perceived success of the project rested on the originality of the illustrations,

¹⁴⁶ NLS, MS.23001.

as well as on Scott's own emendations and introductions. This incurred, as in the past, high costs and therefore high risks, but unlike Constable, Cadell would have a greater control over the production process, and would insist on working to the deadlines he set, thereby controlling costs. The risk, Cadell convinced Scott, was worth taking. This view is supported in a letter Scott wrote to Lockhart:

I was startled at first as perhaps you will be at the enormous expense to be incurred for illustrations by engraving &c. which greatly exceeds our first calculation. But on considering the matter very fully & viewing it in all its bearing I have come to the former opinion, that it is better to give this edition from the beginning a complete and ascertained superiority over all others now in the market. This cannot be obtained without great expence [sic] in engraving otherwise I would have been anxious to have spared at least one of the Engravings to each Volume.¹⁴⁷

Perhaps it was due to the cost of illustration that Scott initially chose images which did not require new plates. This was the time during which Scott was trying to write off his horrendous debts, and no doubt the thought of running higher risks than necessary did not appeal to him, but Cadell stuck to his guns and persuaded him this was the only course of action for a maximum return on their investment. The total cost of engraving came to £3,563, the most expensive item of production after the printing costs. According to Millgate, "he had allowed a figure of five guineas per design, making £336 at two designs per volume; for engraving these on steel in the very best style, £2,352; for paper, lettering and printing, £875".¹⁴⁸ This is in stark contrast to the £800 marked up by Allan alone eight years previously. David Octavius Hill, for example, received £4/4/- in an entry in the accounts for 31 December 1828, while in the same document, Robert Scott Lauder and Thomas Duncan received £22.¹⁴⁹ There was clearly no fixed sum paid to artists, therefore, other than that which Cadell agreed with them individually around the figure of five guineas. It was the engravers, under these conditions, who profited most from the work: Cadell records the expenditure of the print-making firm Moon & Boys in London to date of £578/18/- on engraving.¹⁵⁰ Compared to the disparity between the earning power of the artists involved with the *Provincial Antiquities* (ten guineas per design, and Turner at twenty five guineas per

¹⁴⁷ NLS, MS.112, ff.387-388.

¹⁴⁸ Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ NLS, MS. Acc.5535. Although it is unclear precisely how many designs these figures pertain to, the remunerations denote a dramatic drop in fees. Allan's employment in 1819 was partly the result of a favour from Scott, who wanted to make sure he remained in Scotland, painting Scottish historical subjects. The drop in fees, and the shift away from such private or personal patronage, signals a professionalisation of the painter's trade, dictated by market demand and rewarded accordingly.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

design), and the engravers (fifty guineas per engraving, and twenty five guineas per etching), the gap had widened considerably in the intervening period. In fact, the engravers' fees had remained fairly constant, it was the artists who were earning less, a fact which Cadell felt he could exploit in producing the *Magnum*: if artists were cheaper, they could afford a wider range of names. The other advantage he had was the developments made in London in the technology of engraving and printing, primarily in the use of steel-plates rather than copper.

The hugely popular format of the *Magnum* spawned many copycat publications, but it also spawned a host of related picture-books in the 1830s which were thematically linked to, and influenced by, the *Magnum* illustrations.¹⁵¹ The first of these was Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1830-33). Tilt had taken the step of obtaining Scott's blessing for the project, sending him proofs of the illustrations to be published, and the letter he received back from Scott was typically gracious but non-committal, in keeping with his public front of claiming disinterest in the mechanisms of publishing.

Sir,--I have very ungraciously left unacknowledged your present of the Landscape illustrations of Waverley. I pretend to no knowlege [sic] of art so my opinion ought to go for nothing. But I think they are very beautiful and sincerely hope they will answer the purpose of the artists and publishers.¹⁵²

This self-deprecatory, and slightly misleading letter is the type of correspondence which led to the public view of his indifference to art, and to illustration. However, it serves more as an acknowledgement that he had little control over the London publisher's intention to publish what he liked, not having any legal or meaningful control over the copyrights. He was also unlikely to discourage any project which was likely to benefit the sale of the *Magnum*. The *Landscape Illustrations* was conceived as supplemental illustration to be bound into the *Magnum* editions by the owners of the books, just as the illustrations by Schetky, Stothard and Westall had been designed for the poetry. It was the first major publication which marked the beginning of the industry in book illustration in the 1830s which the Waverley novels engendered. Many of the artists for the *Landscape Illustrations*, such as Leslie, Landseer, Boxall and Stanfield,

¹⁵¹ Ian Duncan, in his introduction to James Hogg's *Winter Evening Tales* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), lists such imitations to the *Magnum* as John Murray's *Works of Lord Byron* (1832-33) and Colburn and Bentley's *Standard Novels* (1831-55).

¹⁵² Walter Scott, *Letters*, 12 vols. 12:471.

had illustrated the *Magnum*, providing the continuity that Cadell had originally sought between the gift-books and the novels, while some of Scott's very first illustrators like Nasmyth and Stothard also contributed. The popularity of this picture book led to several other rival publications over the following ten to fifteen years, with titles like *Scott and Scotland* (1835), *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1836-38), and the *Book of Waverley Gems* (1845). All these publications had their origins in Constable's prototypes, the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* for Allan's designs in 1820, and *Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales* for Nasmyth's in 1821. The proliferation of Waverley-associated illustrations following these two publications demonstrates the developing market for visualisations of Scott's fiction, as a review of the *Landscape Illustrations* in the *British Magazine* of 1830 points out:

The novels of Sir Walter Scott required and deserved the pictorial explanations they are now receiving. While wandering with the great Enchanter over the barren wastes of the fertile valleys of his, or of our land, we have often looked for a better guide than imagination; and when visiting with him some half ruined castle or abbey of the olden time, we have longed to have some clearer idea than even his words could convey, of the scene he had been describing.... The Landscape Illustrations to his works supply us with much that we have desired: they form, as it were, the key to thought...¹⁵³

The reviewer has caught the characteristic of the market perfectly. As Gillen D'Arcy Wood argues, the increasing desire for visualisation in Regency popular culture anticipates that of modern cinematic translations of popular texts. Visual realisations appear to form the lowest common denominator of cultural popularity in the modern literary market place, and this is something of which Scott, guided by his publishers, became increasingly aware. Contrary to popular opinion, he never rejected illustration of a suitable standard, he understood the increasing commercial necessity for the illustration of his works and he proactively participated in the illustration process whenever possible, whether it was proofing plates or helping to recruit artists. As the anonymous Author of Waverley, and in his position as a professional lawyer and country gentleman, he distanced his public self from those of mass-media and production, but there are clear signs in his writing that he was fully aware of the power of illustration not only to support his work commercially, but to interact artistically.

¹⁵³ *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, India proofs (Charles Tilt: London, 1830), quoting the *British Magazine*, July 1830.

His sponsorship of artist friends like Nasmyth, Allan, Wilkie and Leslie alone should provide proof enough of his interest in, and knowledge of, visual art's power in supplementing his own works. His work for the tourist literature of the 1810s, and his interaction with the annual culture of the mid-to-late 1820s underline his willingness to participate openly in the popular visual media which was increasingly encroaching on literary culture, but he used the opportunity where possible to reaffirm the pre-eminence of the text over the image. As chapter 1 argued, illustration for Scott was precisely that: illustration was subservient to that which it was illustrating. In the case of history painting, a picture was by its nature undecipherable without textual support and explanation. But he was also aware of the power of the illustration to intensify the reading experience. It served an educational as well as a decorative function, whether it be in recording costume, landscape or architecture, it could be a useful visual adjunct to textual description. However, he *was* also aware of the increasing commercial influence of illustration in the literary market place and the late 1820s and early 30s. He saw himself as the central element of a collective commercial enterprise, of which publishers, printers, artists and engravers were all a part. He could not afford to ignore public taste, and was quite prepared, in private at least, to engage with the machinery of mass-production, and allowed Constable and Cadell to tailor the presentation of his novels to suit the growing market for illustrated texts.

Section III

Chapter 4

Reconstructing the Tolbooth: Alexander Nasmyth's illustrative work for Walter Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian*.

In 1821, with the publication of the second edition of the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* in 16 volumes, Alexander Nasmyth became the first artist to have illustrations published *with* the Waverley novels, as authorised and supervised by Scott himself. These title-page illustrations were topographical landscapes associated with the localities of the novels they were illustrating. This marked a new development in the marketing and publication of the Waverley novels in Scotland, as Constable was attempting to broaden the popular appeal of the novels to a market for illustrated travel literature. Nasmyth's landscape illustrations for the *Novels and Tales* constitute the establishment of a generic form of illustration which would last throughout the nineteenth century, and which fed off a vibrant and developing British tourist industry increasingly fascinated with its own indigenous landscape and historical architecture. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the influences behind the first author-approved landscape illustrations to all the Waverley novels from *Waverley* to *A Legend of Montrose*, influences which implicate the illustrated editions as part of a wider cultural project of visualising literature for popular consumption. As will be discussed, Nasmyth's participation in contemporary theatre informed his illustrations to one novel in particular, *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818). This novel provides the point around which this chapter revolves, with particular regard to its rendering of the Old Town of Edinburgh and Nasmyth's subsequent visual interpretations of the text.

Nasmyth has been largely overlooked as an illustrator, but his images formed a template for many later landscape illustrations to the Waverley novels. He was a personal friend of Scott's who shared his love of Edinburgh and took an active part in the construction of the New Town. He instructed many of the better known artists of the time, including David Wilkie, David Roberts, Clarkson Stanfield, William Home Lizars and William Allan, all of whom also illustrated Scott, yet his influence on this school of illustration has been largely forgotten. He also contributed to the tourist imagery of the period, providing illustrations for picture books with supporting historical notes such as *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814) and *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1818-26). For both these publications he provided

picturesque views of Edinburgh, and the experience he gained from this type of tourist-journal was translated into his later work for *The Heart of Midlothian*.

The Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the building after which Scott named this novel, becomes an important symbolic motif to both author and his illustrator. The two men had stood next to each other to watch its destruction, but what they witnessed was more than just the destruction of an ancient, dirty monument: it was symbolic of the inevitable wiping of a collective cultural memory that the Tolbooth represented, and their subsequent work on *The Heart of Midlothian* sought to preserve the memory of Old Edinburgh and its way of life in the popular consciousness. Nasmyth's first illustrative work for *The Heart of Midlothian* was, in fact, to create theatre-sets for Daniel Terry's theatrical interpretation of the novel. The experience gained from working for the theatre clearly influenced Nasmyth's book-illustrations for the same novel, while he was also influenced by his participation in illustrating travel literature of the period. This chapter seeks to establish the importance of Nasmyth as an illustrator of Scott, as he has been almost completely overlooked regarding his influence on nineteenth-century book-illustration. Through an examination of his early illustrations, we can also see the influence of other cultural forms of visual representation – painting, theatre, travel illustration – on the rebranding and marketing of the Waverley novels. Using his work for the Terry's theatrical production of *The Heart of Midlothian*, and his shared fascination for the Tolbooth and what it represented for Edinburgh, this chapter will articulate the intended purpose of the landscape illustrations to the Waverley novels as author and artist conceived them. It will then discuss how the *Novels and Tales* fitted into a wider market for illustrated travel literature, and Constable's innovation in publishing the designs separately as fashionable supplemental illustration for private owners of the novels. This chapter addresses Nasmyth's relationship not only with the popular visual culture of the theatre and of the illustrated book, but his specific relationship with Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian*, a relationship which contributed to the development of Scottish popular culture in the nineteenth century, and which helped to define Romantic perceptions of Edinburgh.

The Tolbooth and *The Heart of Midlothian*

Nasmyth was one of the first and most prolific illustrators of the Waverley novels, providing all the illustrations for Constable's collected edition of Scott's novels, the *Novels*

and *Tales of the Author of Waverley*, published in 1821. The illustrations he provided were purely landscape illustrations, topographical images, like the “The Heart of Midlothian” (fig. 11), of the localities identified and described in the novels (from *Waverley* to *A Legend of Montrose*) with no identifiable characters or narrative description, and as such were the first of their kind. The illustrations to *The Heart of Midlothian* stand out from the *Novels and Tales* however, partly due to their obvious debt in composition to the stage sets produced for Terry, and partly due to the specificity of the topography in and around Edinburgh. This specificity is symptomatic of Scott’s depiction of the Old Town of Edinburgh in the novel. Scott’s previous novels had taken liberties with the topographical accuracy of actual landscapes, encouraging Robert Louis Stevenson in his essay “My First Book” to lament the fact that in *The Antiquary* the sun sets in the east.¹⁵⁴ James Skene, a topographical artist and a close friend of Scott’s, also describes in his *Memories of Sir Walter Scott* how Scott manipulated topographical features to suit the narrative: “He [Scott] proposed that as he could not assign any very distinct localities that he had had in view in respect to topography when he wrote the *Antiquary*, he would prefer the omission of the *Antiquary* in the series of localities which I was then publishing, and this was accordingly attended to.”¹⁵⁵ But in *The Heart of Midlothian* Scott maps out, street by street, the Old Town of Edinburgh in which he was born and which he and Nasmyth had watched being slowly dismantled. The novel, and Nasmyth’s illustrations to it, were part of a project of recording the history of, and inscribing a nostalgia for the city which was being physically reconstructed and improved before them. The early illustrations of the Tolbooth encapsulate this inscription of the historical identity of the Old Town into the construction of the new.

Scott and Nasmyth knew each other socially through Daniel Terry and through their membership of the Dilettanti Club on the High Street of Edinburgh, but there was a specific event which sparked their working relationship. On 1 September 1817, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* ran the following advertisement.

Building Materials.

¹⁵⁴ Robert Louis Stevenson *Treasure Island. To which is prefixed his essay on ‘My first Book’* (London: Hamlyn, 1987), p. xii. Stevenson also criticizes the inconsistencies in Scott’s descriptions of the Highlands in *Rob Roy*.

¹⁵⁵ James Skene, *Memories of Sir Walter Scott*, (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 163-4. The publication Skene refers to here is *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels* (1829).

To be SOLD by public roup (in one lot), THE whole MATERIALS of the OLD CITY and COUNTY GAOL, to take place on the premises, on Friday next, the 5th instant, at two o'clock.¹⁵⁶

The “county gaol” referred to here was in fact the old Tolbooth, erstwhile prison in the Old Town of Edinburgh, which was to be incorporated into Scott’s *The Heart of Midlothian*. There is little contemporary reference to the destruction of this ancient building in newspapers or journals, and even less apparent remorse shown at the loss of a building which once held the councils of Scottish kings. It had become decrepit, almost useless as a prison, and by 1816 the decision had been taken to remove it, along with a row of shops behind it called the Luckenbooths, in order to open up the High Street to traffic and to accommodate the building of a new prison, designed by Robert Adam, on Calton Hill. There seems to have been little contemporary public sentimentality attached to the destruction of the Tolbooth; it was a necessary step in the process of improving and reconstructing Edinburgh’s New Town in the early nineteenth century, and the city planners were ruthless in their desire to modernise.

The destruction of the Tolbooth had a significant symbolic significance, however, which was not lost on antiquarians, artists or writers of the time. It was seen as a metaphor for the passing of a way of life, which the Old Town represented, under the new spirit of modernity, creating a new architectural space which would accommodate the increasingly commercial and materialistic bourgeois society of Edinburgh. For Scott, it also created a psychological space in which he could re-inscribe the memory of the Old Town before it was forgotten by the present generation. Such was the symbolic importance of the history of the Tolbooth to him that he had some of the building material advertised above incorporated into his home, Abbotsford. Scott had been writing to the Dean of Guild of the city, Robert Johnstone, since April 1817 begging for certain stones from the Tolbooth which he had planned to incorporate into Abbotsford. On the 2 October he wrote to Johnstone to tell him that “One of my artists will be in town in two or three days to consult on the practicability of getting out the niche as soon as it can be safely managed as the want of it now rather delays the finishing of the grand north front”.¹⁵⁷ He wrote again to Johnstone on 11 October to thank him for the “Scottish Thistle”, a carved motif in a stone

¹⁵⁶ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1st September 1817.

¹⁵⁷ *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 Vols., ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1933), 4:536. It is unclear who this “artist” was, but it’s most likely to have been either James Skene, a long-time friend who had taken sketches over a period of years which Scott would then incorporate into his novels, or William Allan who he referred to as “my artist”.

above the famous front door which Scott had targeted and managed to requisition.¹⁵⁸ The demolition therefore took place somewhere between these dates, and it is no surprise to find that Scott witnessed it for himself, presumably to ensure the requisition of his own building material. The best account we have of the demolition is given by Nasmyth's son, James, in his *Autobiography*.

At one of the strongest parts of the building a strong oak chest, iron-plated, had been built in, held fast by a thick wall of stone and mortar on each side. The iron chest measured about nine feet square, and was closed by a strong iron door with heavy bolts and locks. This was the *Heart of Midlothian*, the condemned cell of the Tolbooth. The iron chest was so heavy that the large body could not, with all their might, pull it out. After stripping it of its masonry, they endeavoured by strong levers to tumble it down into the street. At last, with a "Yo! heave ho!" it fell down with a mighty crash. The iron chest was so strong that it held together, and only the narrow iron door, with its locks, bolts, and bars, was burst open, and jerked off amongst the bystanders.

It was quite a scene. A large crowd had assembled, and amongst them was Sir Walter Scott. Recognising my father, he stood by him, while both awaited the ponderous crash. Sir Walter was still the Great Unknown. When his *Heart of Midlothian* was published in the course of the following year, it was pretty well known that he was the author of that fascinating novel. Sir Walter got the door and the key, as relics, for his house at Abbotsford.¹⁵⁹

James would only have been a young boy, but his memory of this event is supported by his father's painting *Demolition of the Old Tolbooth* (1817-18), and this anecdote places Nasmyth and Scott in the same location at a symbolic moment in the history of Edinburgh. It was important not only because of the history lost with it, but because for Scott and Nasmyth it marked the separation of Edinburgh from its recent past, and its affirmation as the centre of the Enlightenment. The Tolbooth suffered, necessarily, through a spirit of improvement which attached no sentiment to the destruction of antiquated structures, and Scott and Nasmyth were part of a group which undertook the task of preserving, in whatever ways they could, the memory of life of the city as it had been: this task was partly to create a nostalgia for the aesthetics and the social history that these buildings represented.¹⁶⁰ Scott's reaction was to write *The Heart of Midlothian*, while Nasmyth

¹⁵⁸ See appendix 4.

¹⁵⁹ James Nasmyth, *Engineer. An Autobiography*, ed. Samuel Smiles (London: John Murray, 1897), p. 83-4.

¹⁶⁰ James Nasmyth recalls the names of some of the members of the Dilettanti Club on the High Street in Edinburgh. As well as Scott and Nasmyth, members included Henry Raeburn, Hugh Williams, Andrew Geddes, William Thomson, John Shetkey, William Nicholson, William Allan, John Thomson of Duddingston, George Thomson, Dr. Brewster, David Wilkie, Henry Cockburn, Francis Jeffrey, John A.

undertook from 1817 onwards a project of visually recording the Old Town and the constructions of the New Town in a series of pictures in the 1820s. Their ideas and careers were to come together firstly through the theatre, in the dramatised version of *The Heart of Midlothian*, and then through the illustration of Scott's novels. It was for the *Novels and Tales* in 1821, and then for Charles Tilt's publication *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* in 1830, that Nasmyth produced the definitive visual records of the Tolbooth, years after its destruction, but by this time the novel had elevated the building to something of an iconic status. The very phrase "the heart of Midlothian" assumed a resonance which was to be distorted and recycled over the decades, to the point now where it is thought to refer either to Edinburgh itself or to the football team. In fact, the novel uses the phrase technically incorrectly if we are to take James Nasmyth's assertion literally, that the "heart of Midlothian" was not the prison as such, but the cage *in* the prison. The demolition clearly had a deep impact on both Scott and Nasmyth, and their work both individually and collectively was to result in a certain nostalgic commemoration of the Old Town of Edinburgh, in contrast to the dirty, unhygienic, and violent reality it actually represented.

As an advocate, Scott would have walked past the Tolbooth regularly from the Court House, and had clearly identified specific stones and features in the building that would fit thematically and aesthetically into the structure of his new Borders home: the old materials from the Tolbooth became the building blocks of Abbotsford. As Iain Brown points out, "Abbotsford, one might say, is the *Waverley* novels in stone.... it has always the quality of an idea".¹⁶¹ That idea was the appropriation and re-inscription of the past into the foundations of the present: while Scott incorporated the door, the ornamental thistle and several blocks of stone from the Tolbooth and other ancient structures into the fabric of Abbotsford, the affected baronial-style hall concealed state-of-the-art gas lighting facilities and all the modern conveniences that contemporary engineering could offer. In the historical note to the *Magnum Opus* edition of the novel, Scott refers to Johnstone's help in procuring the material which "composed the gateway, together with the door, and its ponderous fastenings, which he employed in decorating the entrance of his kitchen-court".¹⁶² He describes how building blocks of an older structure with its own specific

Murray, Professor Wilson, John Ballantyne and James Hogg. This group were interested in preserving the aesthetics of the Old Town and incorporating them into those of the New Town.

¹⁶¹ *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott. The Image and the Influence*, ed. Iain Brown (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003), p. 5.

¹⁶² Walter Scott *The Heart of Midlothian*, p. 547.

history and symbolism have come to form part of a new building, serving a different practical function but acting as a constant reminder of the past.

The application of these relics of the Heart of Mid-Lothian to serve as the postern gate to a court of modern offices, may be justly ridiculed as whimsical; but yet it is not without interest, that we see the gateway through which so much of the stormy politics of a rude age, and the vice and misery of later times, had found their passage, now occupied in the service of rural economy.¹⁶³

The demolition of the Tolbooth and the re-appropriation of the building materials for “the service of rural economy” is a physical reminder of the social and economic changes which Scotland had undergone since the Porteous Riot in 1736, the period in which Scott sets the novel. Its redundancy as a prison highlights the socio-economic progression of a society which has appropriated it for more mundane but pressing needs. As a novel, *The Heart of Midlothian* came to serve a similar symbolic function in the cultural fabric of Scotland to that of the Tolbooth: it reminded its readership of the recent “rude” history of Edinburgh, while creating a nostalgia from which the new enlightened city could construct its own identity. *The Heart of Midlothian* became in effect a cultural building block of Edinburgh’s identity in the new modern era. It negotiates the reconciliation of the old with the new; it analyses the absorption of Scotland into the new Hanoverian Britain after the Union of 1707, and the need for a move away from the antiquated legal system which condemned Effie Deans to death for infanticide towards a new, enlightened era of pragmatism and humanitarianism. The Tolbooth, or more precisely its destruction, symbolised this step towards modernity. The demolition of the Tolbooth hints at a new environment of social tolerance and a sympathy towards certain social misdemeanours that had previously been addressed by incarceration: for example, it had in its final years been used to incarcerate small debtors amongst other more serious criminals, but a charitable trust was set up in September 1817 to raise money in order to release these debtors before the remaining prisoners were removed to the new prison on Calton Hill. On 11 September the following letter to the editor of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* was sent by a reader calling himself “Philo-Humanitas”:

Sir – As the public of Edinburgh are informed, that the new Jail on the Calton Hill is partly finished, and the old prison about to be taken down – the removal of the unfortunate prisoners from the one to the other, gives the benevolent inhabitants of this city a fair opportunity of exerting their accustomed liberality and Christian charity, by liberating altogether a number of small debtors.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

A very small sum from the opulent and charitable of this country would relieve many deserving but unfortunate persons, and mark with indelible character the time of the removal.¹⁶⁴

The prisoners in question, twelve in all, were freed three days later. There was even a balance left over from the generosity of the subscribers, which was duly “applied to aid the families of the most distressed prisoners”.¹⁶⁵ Scott refers to this incident in his historical note to the *Magnum* edition, and the public spirit and legal expediency that this incident demonstrated contrasts sharply with the mob rule and the repressive legal system of the older Edinburgh that he portrays. For example, the City Guard, which used the Tolbooth as their quarters, was decommissioned in September 1817: this was the same City Guard which Porteous had commanded in 1736. The City Guard represented an older, repressive form of law enforcement which had led historically to frictions between the populace of the city and the ruling classes, as demonstrated by the Porteous Riot. For Scott, the decommissioning of the City Guard in 1817 underlined the more enlightened, self-assured political and social structure which no longer required the rule of an independent militia in the modern city, and marks the depth of change which Edinburgh, and Scotland, had undergone between 1736 and 1817 when the Tolbooth was taken down.¹⁶⁶ In 1814, Scott had given *Waverley* the subtitle *‘Tis Sixty Years Since*, highlighting the breadth of experience and development Scotland had undergone since the 1745 Jacobite uprising: *The Heart of Midlothian* has a similar agenda, underlining the physical, social and psychological differences between the modern metropolis and its recent history, the material symbol for which became the Tolbooth itself.

The symbolism of this moment in Edinburgh’s history was not lost on Nasmyth. He had also grown up in the Old Town, being born in the Grassmarket (his father’s previous house stood only a few feet from where Porteous was hanged by the mob), and he duly commemorated the dismantling of the Tolbooth in his painting *Demolition of the Tolbooth*, the first of several images to re-visualise the building after its destruction. Comparisons of the images from before and after the demolition are enlightening in terms of how the Tolbooth came to represent a certain urban picturesque aesthetic connected with the Old Town in general. Nasmyth sharpened this idealised vision of the Tolbooth in three images;

¹⁶⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 11 September 1817.

¹⁶⁵ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 18 September 1817.

¹⁶⁶ Historically, Scott’s interpretation of this episode in Edinburgh’s development is not quite accurate. Social unrest in post-war Britain, particularly amongst the weaving industries, vented itself in the Cato Street (1816) and Peterloo (1819) riots. The destruction of the Tolbooth and its subsequent representation seeks to trace beneficial changes in class structure *despite* the disharmonies that existed between the workers and industrialists throughout the country.

the painting of the *Demolition*, the illustration to the *Novels and Tales*, and a final version for Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations*. In the painting, the Tolbooth is depicted being taken apart, with the crowds in front watching the spectacle and trying to grab what mementos they can.

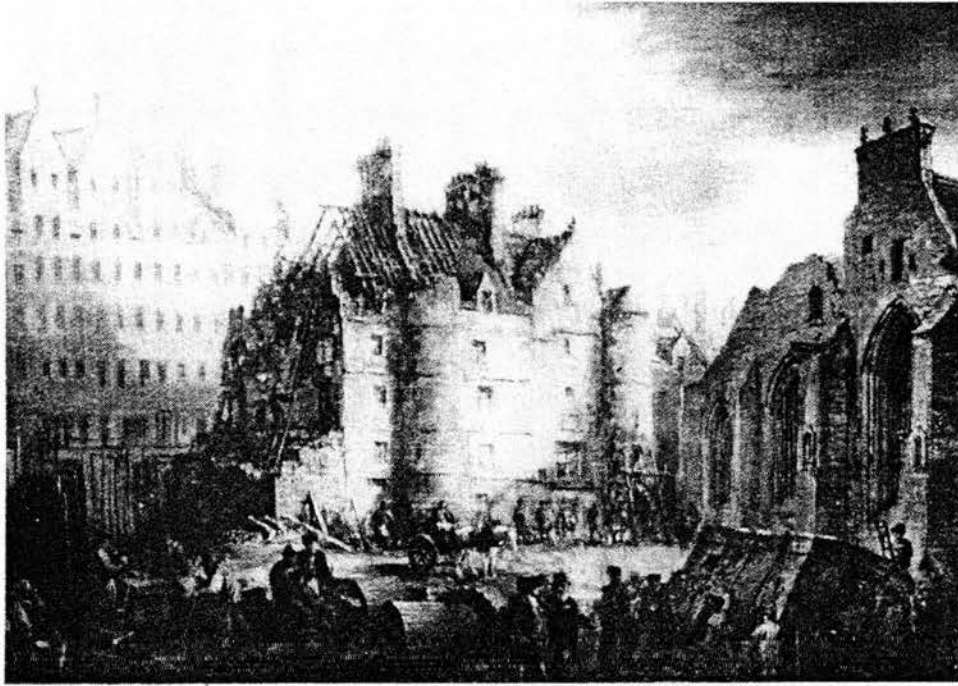


Fig. 9: Nasmyth, Alexander *Demolition of the Tolbooth* (1817-18)

This painting, completed either in late 1817 or in early 1818 (precisely the time when Scott was writing *The Heart of Midlothian*), was Nasmyth's own reaction to its destruction. If we can take James's account literally, Nasmyth was not sketching on the spot, but must have had previous knowledge of the building. The painting was probably finished according to Nasmyth's usual practice of either copying a model created in his studios, or finishing the images from sketches he had taken on the spot. The most useful contemporary images of the building as it stood however are provided by a draughtsman called Daniel Sommerville.

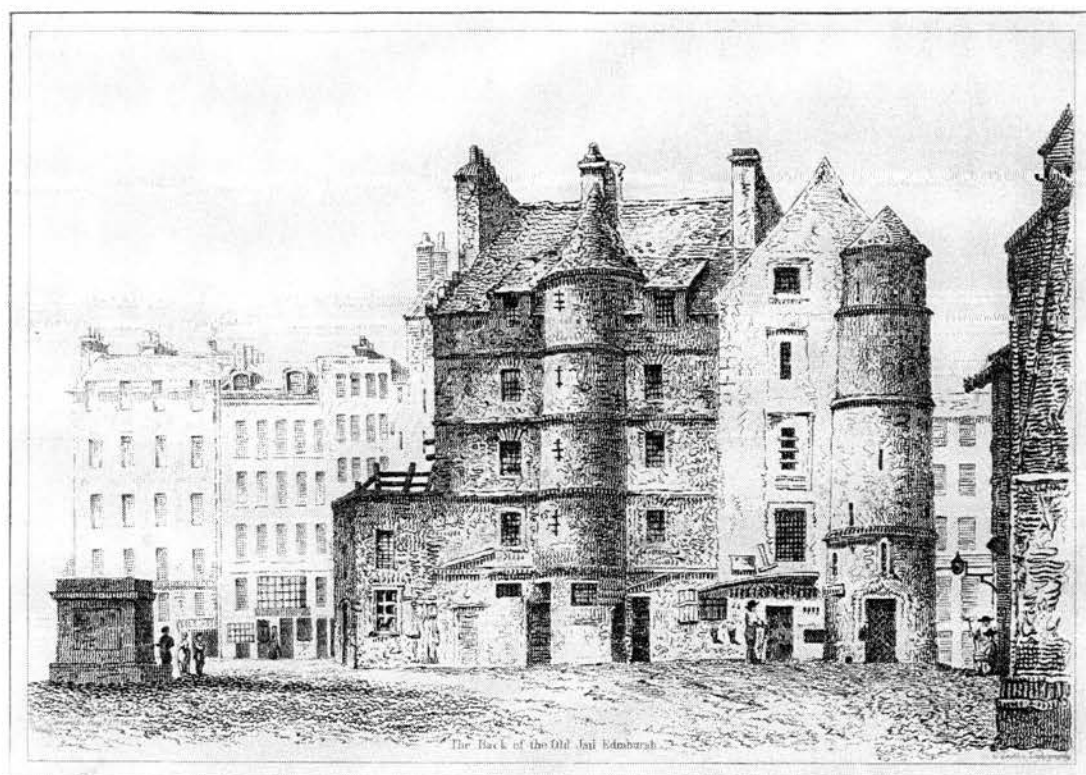


Fig. 10: Sommerville, Daniel *The Back of the Old Jail, Edinburgh* (August 1, 1817)

Sommerville's image is dated 1 August 1817 on the printed version, two months before the demolition. This image was therefore an attempt to record the building as an accurate architectural record, and it provides a useful contrast to all images which were produced in the wake of *The Heart of Midlothian*. The accuracy of the structural idiosyncrasies of the building are corroborated by a contemporary drawing by another Edinburgh artist, Henry Duguid.¹⁶⁷ When we compare the images of the building in its relative states, Nasmyth's painting appears to be accurate in its architectural detail, but by contrast, Sommerville's drawing is an accurate and objective record of the structure as it stood, with no narrative agenda or romanticised lighting of the building. The initial pencil sketch for Sommerville's drawing has clearly been taken on the spot very accurately by an artist well versed in perspective and architectural design. Its objectivity and observation contrast with the heightened drama of Nasmyth's painting, whose lighting and crowded foreground (complete with the "cage" itself) speak of a narrative and romanticised effort to record the *event* as much as the building. Nasmyth is therefore involved in an early attempt to dramatise an historical event he has witnessed himself, before Scott had published *The Heart of Midlothian* and before his own participation in Terry's dramatisation of the novel.

¹⁶⁷ See appendix 5.

The building itself is almost identical in Nasmyth's painting and Sommerville's drawing, but the emphasis on drama and narrative in the painting illustrates the theatricality which is already being ascribed to the destruction of the Tolbooth. The most interesting contrast however is provided by the illustration to Scott's novel three years later.

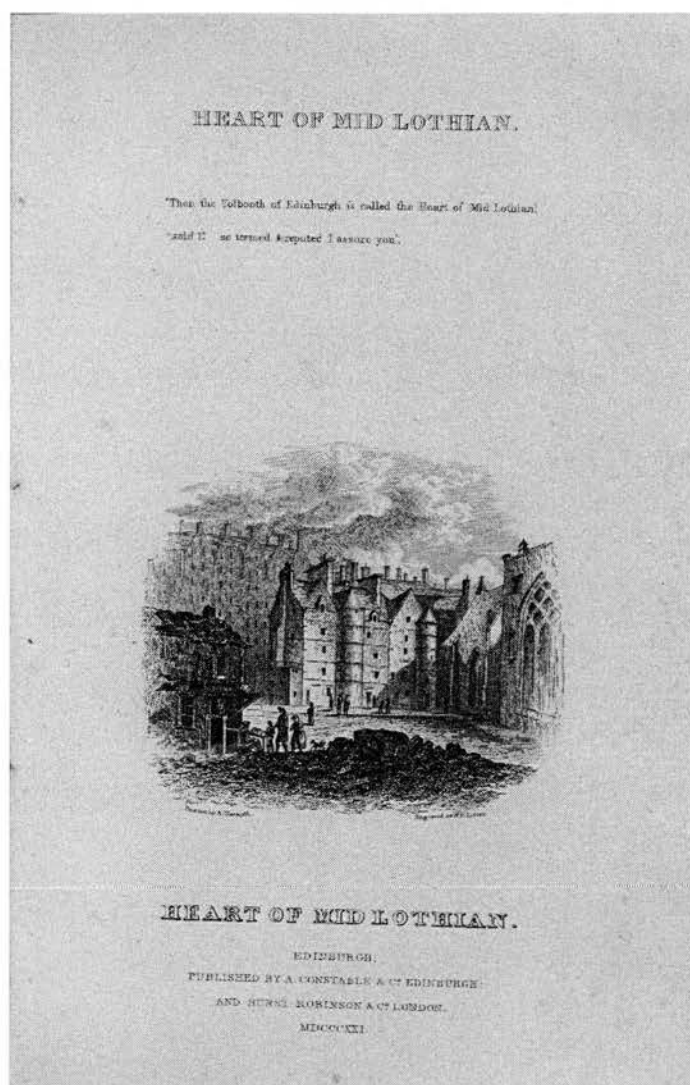


Fig. 11: Nasmyth, Alexander, "The Heart of Midlothian" for *Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes Supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales Of the Author of Waverley* (Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh, 1821).

Completed in 1821, the engraved building has undergone subtle changes: this is partly from the process of recreating images from previous sketches which led to understandable discrepancies in historical accuracy, but it is also due to the influence both of Scott's novel and of Nasmyth's involvement with Terry's play. The lighting and sense of perspective in the *Demolition* has been heightened in the illustration, the building itself has become the focus and the character of the piece with no distracting narrative. The

building is imagined as it would have been in 1736, the year in which *The Heart of Midlothian* is set, but the figures play no narrative role in illustrating action from the novel. Instead they provide a point of perspective, giving a sense of the size of the building, while not detracting from it as the focal point of the image. Although there is no mention of the Tolbooth in Terry's stage directions as a stage set, the open ground in front of the building and the space created by the surrounding structures suggests a theatrical space in which the action can take place. Without suggesting that this particular illustration has been derived from the designs for the stage sets of Terry's production, the organisation of space and the lack of any identifiable characters create the feeling of a backdrop upon which the text can impose the action, while the Tolbooth itself takes on significance of its own as one of the locations of the novel. The building itself has been slightly shrunk in size in relation to St. Giles Cathedral, and the west (foremost) platform, which contained the gibbet from which prisoners were hanged, has been noticeably shortened. The illustration presents us with a sanitised image of what was essentially a run down, foreboding structure in 1736. The Tolbooth has undergone something of a transformation; this is an image of a now world-famous landmark commissioned for popular public consumption, far removed from the symbol of violence and criminal activity it represents in the novel.

The final representation of the Tolbooth by Nasmyth however appeared in Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* nearly ten years later.



Fig. 12: Nasmyth, Alexander “Tolbooth”, completed for *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (Charles Tilt, London, 1830).

Nasmyth has reworked his image once more, in a different format and medium, using steel rather than copper-plate. The building has undergone yet another subtle set of changes in the intervening years. The steel-plate technique allowed a greater amount of close detail and sharper contrast between light and dark. The heightened dramatic impact due to these technological advances is immediately apparent as the Tolbooth is thrown into even sharper relief and the surrounding structures into deeper shade, emphasising further the gothic impact of the building. The Tolbooth has been enlarged once again in relation to its surroundings and it is a more finished image because of its rectangular plate format rather than the more sparse detail of the vignette. The space in front of the Tolbooth has been opened up even further in this picture, the buildings on the left have been pushed back to give a clearer view and have in fact been transformed into a less rustic structure than in the earlier illustration. The facia of St. Giles Cathedral has also undergone substantial re-working. The facia in the *Demolition* is ruinous, masonry has fallen from the upper edges of the building leaving a ragged silhouette. In this final image, Nasmyth has repaired the stone-work to its original state in order to present the building as it would probably have looked in 1736. In fact, this final image appears to be a more authentic representation of the building as it would have stood in its prime when compared to the drawings of

Sommerville and Duguid – the building has been restored to its proper proportions in relation to its surroundings, the balcony at the west end seems closer in scale to that depicted by Sommerville, and the Cathedral has been restored to its plain but gothic appearance. However, the open space in front of the building and the heightened use of light and shade do leave the idea of the “textual stage” in tact from the previous illustration, while also emphasising the iconic importance of the building itself.

A comparison of the drawings by Somerville and Duguid with Nasmyth’s later illustrations demonstrates how the Tolbooth came to be aestheticised. It became an important symbol of the Old Town through its centrality in *The Heart of Midlothian*, and Nasmyth’s images gave it the grandeur that its pre-eminence required in the public imagination. While the building itself does not appear to have been altered structurally, its surroundings have been manipulated to emphasise the structure and its presence in the High Street. Its physical absence is replaced by a nostalgic image of what it must have been like. Nasmyth’s depictions of the Tolbooth are always recognisable *as* the Tolbooth, but the subtly changing presentation of the building and its environment betray a similar process of romanticising history to suit an idealised memory. Because of the visual evidence that still exists of the High Street and the Tolbooth, we can see how Nasmyth’s illustrations gradually manipulated the structural space and the presentation of the building to suit the nostalgic ideal that it came to represent due to the popularity of *The Heart of Midlothian*. But however romanticised the images became, the actual building always had to be recognisable to an Edinburgh readership which would be able to judge for themselves any major architectural discrepancies from their own memories.

Topographical authenticity of Edinburgh in the illustrations for *The Heart of Midlothian* is important to the novel they illustrate. *The Heart of Midlothian* is untypical as a Waverley novel precisely *because* of its topographical realism. Scott knew the Old Town from his childhood, walked past the Tolbooth most working days and had witnessed the construction of the New Town at first hand. He was also writing at least partially for an Edinburgh readership who would recognise their own city. Scott’s biographer, his son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart, describes the popular appeal of *The Heart of Midlothian* in Scotland.

From the choice of localities, and the splendid blazoning of tragical circumstances that had left the strongest impression on the memory and imagination of every inhabitant, the reception of this tale in Edinburgh was a scene of all-engrossing enthusiasm, such as I never witnessed there on the

appearance of any other literary novelty. But the admiration and delight were the same all over Scotland. Never before had he seized such really noble features of the national character ... or interwoven a portraiture of lowly manners and simple virtues, with more graceful delineations of polished life, or with bolder shadows of terror, guilt, crime, remorse, madness, and all the agony of the passions.¹⁶⁸

Lockhart articulates how identifiable both Scott's characters and his localities were to his readers, not only in Edinburgh, but in Scotland. He has identified and differentiated the facets of the Waverley novels which most appealed to their readers at the time, and which contributed to the primary subject matter for illustration, namely, landscape (the "localities") and history ("tragical events"). Location here is connected directly with a sense of national identity: the "choice of localities" contributes to the expression of a "national character" for Lockhart, and were clearly identified as such by the Edinburgh readership. Scott had captured the noble features which defined the national character, and Scotland recognised itself in Scott's landscape descriptions. As with Maria Edgeworth's use of the Irish landscape, specific landscape and architectural idiosyncrasies of Scottish subjects in Scott's fiction became identifiable with "Scottishness", and were to be visualised by his illustrators.¹⁶⁹ Nasmyth's illustrations in the early 1820s were beginning to express the trend of identifying Scottish localities as being *specifically* Scottish in character: this had begun with Scott's poetry promoting the tourist trade in the Highlands, and John Schetky's early landscape illustrations to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1808), but *The Heart of Midlothian* seems to have struck a chord of recognition and memory with his Scottish readership in particular. The Tolbooth is a symbol in the novel of all the "shadows of terror, guilt, crime, remorse, madness, and all the agony of the passions", but it also becomes a romanticised symbol of an older Scottish life and culture which was recognised by Scott's readers. This was achieved through the visual medium in association with the popularity of the novel. In other words, visual reinterpretations such as Nasmyth's illustrations of the Tolbooth *became* the memory of the Old Town: Nasmyth was participating in the construction of a cultural memory through the popular visual medium for a novel-reading public.

The Heart of Midlothian, however, tempers this sentimentality for the Old Town with the realism of the social history that it represents. The Tolbooth is a constantly recurring

¹⁶⁸ John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1871), p. 409.

¹⁶⁹ Katie Trumpener, in *Bardic Nationalism: The Novel and the British Empire*, discusses Maria Edgeworth's use of the bog as a symbol of Irish history and national identity.

motif which is introduced in the opening chapter by Halkit and Peter Pattieson, and revisited in the last chapter by the older Sir George Staunton; but despite its symbolic importance, it is never merely aestheticised or sentimentalised as it is in the illustrations. We first hear about the Tolbooth from the advocate and his friend who are describing the prison to the fictional narrator, Pattieson.

“Pray, Mr. Pattieson, have you ever been in Edinburgh?”

I answered in the affirmative.

“Then you must have passed, occasionally at least, though probably not so frequently and faithfully as I am doomed to do, through a narrow intricate passage, leading out of the north-west corner of the Parliament Square, and passing by a high and antique building, with turrets and iron grates,

Making good the saying odd,
Near the church and far from God”—

Mr Halkit broke in upon his learned council to contribute his moiety to the riddle—“Having at the door the sign of the Red Man.—”¹⁷⁰

Scott is mapping out the very part of the High Street he had seen destroyed months before, the “narrow intricate passage” being formed by the Luckenbooths and St Giles Cathedral leading directly to the Tolbooth door. Its front door, depicted in all three of the images above, was burnt down during the Porteous Riot and replaced, and when the Tolbooth was pulled down, was requisitioned by Scott as one of the features for Abbotsford.¹⁷¹ This door separates two worlds in the novel; the world of the ordinary Edinburgh citizen who may pass it every day on business, and the world of the prisoner. Scott’s Edinburgh readers in 1818, and the theatre-goers of 1820, would have been familiar with this passage and the door, but Scott fleshes out its specific historical significance. *The Heart of Midlothian* narrates the full social and authoritarian symbolism of the Tolbooth for Edinburgh’s inhabitants of 1736: this was no picturesque building to those people who were imprisoned there, or those who watched people hanged from the gibbet on the western platform. Scott’s Tolbooth fills every character in the novel with fear – it has housed murderers, rapists, and political prisoners like Davie Deans, and becomes indirectly the object of the mob’s hatred. There is a disjunction, therefore, between the feelings of fear and resentment it provoked during its prime as described in the novel, and the public nostalgia for the building now it has gone. Nasmyth’s illustration for the *Novels and Tales*

¹⁷⁰ Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 17-18.

¹⁷¹ See appendix 4.

recreates the Tolbooth to fulfil a public demand for a nostalgic visual representation of a now famous, non-existent monument. But the illustrations of the Tolbooth cannot be separated from the novel they illustrate: without the supporting text, the full socio-historic significance of the building is lost on the viewer, and it is relocated into a new historical context.

Dramatic interpretation and visual simulation

Nasmyth's work for the Waverley novels in fact began before he started work on the book-illustrations for the *Novels and Tales*. In February 1820 a theatrical production of *The Heart of Midlothian* opened at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh. There had by this time already been several stage versions of the novel which had been published in late July 1818, but this particular production stands out in that it was produced by Scott's friend Daniel Terry, and that Terry's father-in-law, Nasmyth, had painted the stage scenery. A review of the play was published in the *Scotsman* on 26 February ending with the following passage:

We need not say that the scenery was splendid, and that *as a mere exhibition* it was worth all the money paid for the admission to the Theatre. It possessed merit of the highest order... The Views of, and in Edinburgh are truly Scottish in manner, as well as in subject; and we were especially pleased with the Sunrise View of Edinburgh, and the Deans cottage and byre in Act I, Craigmillar Castle and Edinburgh, in the distance, Act III; distant view of Carlisle and Grassmarket in Act V; Laird of Dumbiedyke's mansions, and romantic wood in Act IV; the moonlight view of Edinburgh and more especially the ruins of St. Anthony's chapel in Act II; And,--but we can go no farther in this...¹⁷²

Terry's play, a heavily edited version of Scott's dense text, was hugely popular, and in no small part due to Nasmyth's stage scenery. The play had been produced very quickly: it was a rapid, commercially driven response to the popularity of a novel which many people could not afford to buy. In fact, up to six versions of the play had been produced in Edinburgh and London in 1819, but this production was put on by Scott's friends and with his cooperation.

While Nasmyth's working relationship with Scott began with the illustrations he produced for *The Border Antiquities*, his relationship with the Waverley novels started with his stage scenery for Terry's *The Heart of Midlothian*. As a stage-set designer and a book

¹⁷² *Scotsman*, 26 February, 1820.

illustrator, Nasmyth was participating in an increasingly commercial and profit-driven market for the visualisation of popular literary texts, at a time when such texts were beginning to be re-packaged for a more affluent and literate middle-class. Terry and the Theatre Royal were keen to exploit this market, as is indicated by the playbill for the opening performance on 23 February 1820:

The VIEWS of EDINBURGH and its VICINITY painted by Mr NASMYTH.
The other Scenery designed by Mr PYETT, and by Mr ROBERTS of the
Theatre-Royal, Glasgow, and executed by them and their Assistants.¹⁷³

These lines appear near the top of the bill, under the title of the play and a brief eulogy to the new “Scenery, Machinery, Dresses and Decorations” that the theatre was employing. But Nasmyth’s name stands out from this poster. This was to be the last of his stage designs, which had begun in the 1790s at the request of his friend Robert Burns. Nasmyth had trained under Allan Ramsay in London and Edinburgh as a portrait painter, but when his radical political views made him unpalatable to aristocratic patronage, he turned to theatre decoration. He became a major part of the radical development in the theatre around this time, with growing audience numbers and the burgeoning market for ever more spectacular shows, as theatres tried to out-perform each other.

Scott’s specificity of the history and geography in Edinburgh and its outskirts impressed readers and reviewers in 1818. The review which appeared in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* praised the accurate historical rendering of the Porteous Riot, “a story deeply registered in the memory of many now living, some few of whom witnessed, and others had an account of that transaction, not long after it happened, from persons connected with the actors or the sufferers”.¹⁷⁴ It also praised the particularity of the landscapes: “In the graphic description of scenery, the author of *The Heart of Midlothian* shews the same power of eye and of pencil as in his former works. Take, for example, the description of a place which his Edinburgh readers will recognise at once”.¹⁷⁵ The reviewer continues to quote extensively the description of Edinburgh from Salisbury Crags, a scene from which Rueben Butler meditates on the violent events of the Porteous Riot. Scott’s description of the geography is again topographically specific and evoked in typically picturesque terminology as “a piece of scenery so beautiful, yet so varied,-so exciting by its

¹⁷³ See appendix 3.

¹⁷⁴ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* August 1818 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818), p. 567.

¹⁷⁵ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* August 1818, p. 573.

intricacy, and yet so sublime”.¹⁷⁶ Terry was quick to identify the potential market for a theatrical realisation of such topographical descriptions that would do justice to Scott’s evocations of Edinburgh: his father-in-law Nasmyth was the obvious choice, an Edinburgh man with a great reputation amongst the Scottish theatres. All that survive of Nasmyth’s designs for this production however are six thumbnail sketches made in pen and ink on a piece of paper 16 x 12cm.

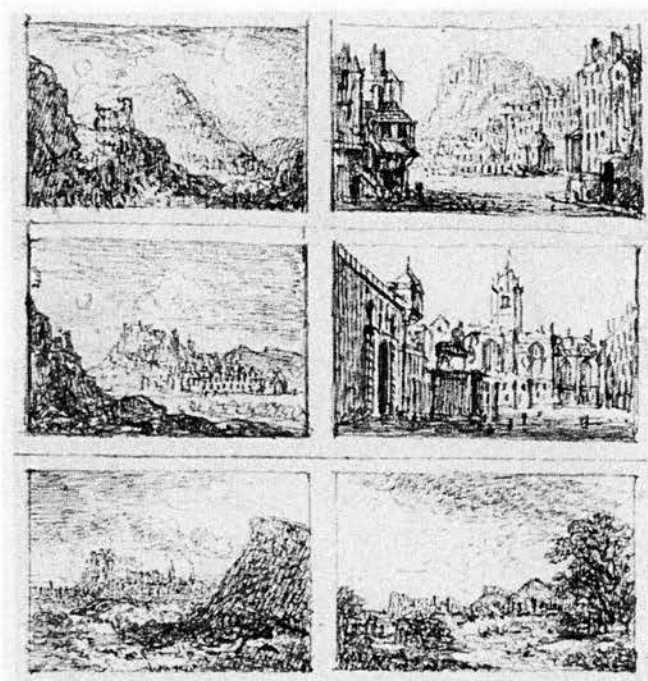


Fig. 13: Nasmyth, Alexander *Six Stage Sets for the “Heart of Midlothian”* (1819)

These small thumbnails were translated into theatrical backdrops for the Edinburgh Theatre Royal, each measuring 24 feet long by 16 feet 6 inches high. The design for Edinburgh from Salisbury Crags, praised by *Blackwood’s*, is seen here in the bottom left thumbnail. This set opens the play, and is described in the stage directions as *View of Edinburgh from the King’s Park*.¹⁷⁷ In a pencil sketch of this scene dating from around this period by his father, James Nasmyth has described this view merely as “Edinburgh from Arthur’s Seat”,¹⁷⁸ but there can be little doubt that it was done with Scott’s description in mind:

¹⁷⁶ Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁷ Daniel Terry, *The Heart of Midlothian; a Romantic National Drama, founded on the Popular Tale of the same name, in the second series of the Tales of My Landlord:” as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh*. (Edinburgh: J. Huie, 1823).

¹⁷⁸ National Gallery of Scotland, D3727/56. This pencil sketch is dated 1817, although James’ dating of his father’s work has proved unreliable. The sketch is compositionally identical to the thumbnail for the

If I were to chuse a spot from which the rising or setting sun could be seen to the greatest possible advantage, it would be that wild path winding around the foot of the high belt of semi-circular rocks, called Salisbury Crags, and marking the verge of the steep descent which slopes down into the glen on the south-eastern side of the city of Edinburgh.¹⁷⁹

Nasmyth's stage set was an almost exact rendering of Scott's description. In the play, Scott's text is separated out into the visual and the oral - scenery and dialogue - much of which is taken directly from the novel. This is an important point, as it highlights the theatrical equivalent of the trend in illustration by which event and scenery from the novels were separated out: theatrical interpretation anticipates the division of subject matter into scenic and narrative book-illustration. This process was of course obligatory for theatrical interpretations of any novel as the texts had to be translated both visually and verbally, particularly given the sensationalism of the theatrical experience in the early 1820s. Nasmyth's involvement in the division of scenery from action in Terry's play therefore indicates an early influence on the development of landscape illustration to the Waverley novels, both in terms of subject matter (the identification and representation of specific localities in the novel) and in the growing popular demand for landscape illustration throughout the 1820s and 30s.

But the question remains as to why the stage sets should be such an important marketing tool for an audience surrounded by the actual scenery itself? Part of the answer may be provided by the playbill, which stipulates that "The public is respectfully requested to observe, that the Views of Edinburgh are painted with an intention to represent the City as it appeared in the Days of Porteous" (see appendix 3). This appears at first to be almost an apologetic disclaimer for the appearance of the city which might not correlate to the audience's knowledge of it, but it does point to the fact that the scenery is designed as a curiosity. The audience, many of whom would remember the Old City and judge the execution of Nasmyth's painting accordingly, went to the theatre to see their city as it had been. However, the playbill is almost didactic in tone, as if it is instructing the audience *how* to look at the scenery. The attention is first drawn to the importance of the stage sets, and then we are told how they have been conceived and how they are supposed to be viewed. Scott had successfully achieved a picturesque rendering of familiar scenery in the novel, enshrining certain views and structures in the minds of his readers, and Nasmyth

stage set. It is possible therefore that Nasmyth's image predates the conception of Scott's novel, and was subsequently incorporated into his designs for the play.

¹⁷⁹ Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, p. 75.

aspired to the same success in the visual medium. Terry was so confident in the quality of the set designs that they became central to the marketing of the production. The set designs are listed at length on the playbill – for example, Act II of the first production had no less than five different set changes:

1. VIEW of EDINBURGH by MOONLIGHT,
2. RUINS of ST. ANTHONY'S CHAPEL,
And Muschat's Cairn—Moonlight,
3. A ROOM in DUMBIEDYKE'S HOUSE,
4. The HALL in the OLD TOLBOOTH of EDINBURGH,
Painted from a drawing, made in 1817,
5. The PARLIAMENT CLOSE.

The sets for each act are laid out in the same manner, under the proud boast that the scenery is “entirely new”: the sets are new, but the scenery is familiar to the Edinburgh audience. The theatre promises a new way of seeing what actually surrounds them in the outside world. The scenes are described with the same specificity in the playbill as they are in the illustrations, they are labelled or somehow authenticated with parenthetical subtitles, such as the hall of the Tolbooth which is “Painted from a drawing, made in 1817” (the year it came down). The specificity of the topography helps to authenticate the historicity of the action they are about to see. Richard Maxwell, in *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, identifies topographical illustration as a form of authentication in the novels and poems.

Except, perhaps, to an unusually uncritical eye, an image of Waverley being introduced to Charles Edward will not suggest that there really was a Waverley. On the other hand, an image of Holyrood Palace, where this meeting occurred, or a reproduced portrait of the Pretender... serves effectively as a reminder that certain features of Scott's novels match up to specific material survivals.¹⁸⁰

Maxwell argues that it is evidentiary illustration which authenticates the novels, and while he refers to illustrations not only of landscapes but of antiquarian objects, Nasmyth's theatrical backdrops and book illustrations to *The Heart of Midlothian* do serve this function of topographical and historical authentication, where the audiences (both theatrical and reading) were already familiar with the topography but not necessarily the history. With this particular production, the audience has to be reassured that the scenes presented to

¹⁸⁰ *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, ed. Richard Maxwell (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2002), p. 10.

them are representations of actual locations, but not as they have ever seen them before. The familiar Edinburgh topography, popularised by Scott's novel, is being aestheticised by the theatrical spectacle. The audience is being trained in "entirely new" ways of seeing and experiencing their environment.

Popular visual culture and Romantic antipathy

The emphasis on the particular views or interiors are calculated to attract the curiosity of potential theatre-goers. The importance of the visual spectacle to the audiences of the early nineteenth-century theatre is clearly demonstrated by the emphasis placed on it in the marketing of the production of *The Heart of Midlothian*. In her book *The Shock of the Real*, Gillen D'Arcy Wood describes the growing public demand for spectacular entertainment in Regency Britain. The common perception is that the arrival of photography in the 1840s triggered the modern popular visual mass-culture, but Wood argues that in fact pre-photography Regency Britain was already immersed in a proto-cinematic urban culture of panoramas, print-shops, galleries and spectacular theatrics. She uses examples such as an exhibition of Belzoni's Tomb in London, which purported to recreate a part of Egypt with fragments of antiquity thrown in. Exhibitions devoted to the spectacle of the "real" were wildly popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite the Romantics' opposition to the new, consumer-driven mass culture. The theatre, building on the popularity it achieved through Garrick's interpretations of Shakespeare and Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg's theatrical scenery in the eighteenth century, absorbed and cultivated this growing trend for the spectacular. Terry's *The Heart of Midlothian* was firmly routed in this tradition of theatrical sensationalism based upon the realisation of popular topographical scenes.

The importance of Nasmyth's scenery to the success of Terry's *The Heart of Midlothian* is articulated by the review in the *Scotsman*, which claims "that as a mere exhibition it was worth all the money paid for the admission to the Theatre".¹⁸¹ The action of the play is a severely edited version of Scott's narrative. Terry has dispensed entirely with the famous Porteous Riot, and the curtain opens instead on the conspirators meeting directly after the violence, with George Staunton at their head, moving quickly onto the confrontation in the King's Park between Staunton and Reuben Butler. The action deals

¹⁸¹ *Scotsman*, 26 February, 1820.

with the main events of the novel, including Jeanie's walk to London and her pivotal meeting with Queen Caroline, but the ending is more sensationalist, with the final act involving Effie's last minute reprieve from the gallows due to the timely arrival of Jeanie with the royal pardon in her hand. Scott's final instalment in the novel, in which Jeanie and Butler set their roots in a more symbolic "Highland Arcadia" and learn to cope with their new rural life, is omitted entirely by Terry. The *Blackwood's* reviewer said of this final episode in the novel that "The fourth volume is rather *de trop*... and we believe most readers wish that the greatest part of it had been spared".¹⁸² The readers *were* spared this volume in the "Terrified" theatrical version, a major structural revision which Terry no doubt thought would have compromised the dramatic impact of the main action.

Given the comparative brevity of the play, therefore, we can begin to understand the importance of the stage sets to the theatre managers in filling seats – the theatre was a primarily visual experience, a fact which Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt and other notable Romantics deplored. As Wood argues, "the response of the literary elite [to the new visual culture] mingles apprehension and contempt. Lamb disdains theatrical spectacle, as does Wordsworth the "mimic sights" of the panorama, while both decry the illustration of books".¹⁸³ This was the "shock of the real" to the Romantic sensibility, a disposition which many commentators have argued that Scott shared.¹⁸⁴ However, Scott demonstrated considerably less hostility towards popular visual reinterpretations of his novels, both in the theatre and book illustration. William Todd and Ann Bowden relate how Scott had a theatrical interpretation of *The Heart of Midlothian* in mind even before its publication: "To give Daniel Terry some advantage over his competitors, Scott on 18 May 1818 promised him the text of this Tale, 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian', as soon as it was in proof".¹⁸⁵

Scott's willingness for theatrical interpretation can be explained by his own experiences in playwriting (he had tried to get his play *The House of Aspen* produced in London in 1799, only to have it rejected by Kemble), and also by his close friendship with

¹⁸² *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* August 1818, p. 570.

¹⁸³ Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture 1760-1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 7.

¹⁸⁴ Catherine Gordon, in her essay "The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation", (from *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34, 1971) points out that although Scott actively sought suitable, Scottish illustrators to his work, he had no pretensions towards a serious appreciation of the visual arts.

¹⁸⁵ William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History 1796-1832* (New Castle DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 468.

Terry. But this does not adequately explain his willingness to be personally involved in the project. Terry had by this time also dramatised *Rob Roy* and *The Antiquary* to great success, and Scott clearly had faith in his abilities as a stage director, trusting him to do justice to his novels. This suggests that there was little or no antipathy on Scott's part towards the appropriation of his work for a more popular market, a hypothesis supported by his similar involvement in Nasmyth's illustrations to the *Novels and Tales*. The only evidence we have of this involvement is from an unpublished letter in the National Library of Scotland from Archibald Constable, Scott's publisher, to Nasmyth, outlining the projected plan for the illustrations. Constable writes on 1 June 1820, "I have just had some conversation with the *great unknown* on the subject of the vignettes to the novels and tales he admires Holyrood house greatly & indeed approves of all the subjects we had thought of ...".¹⁸⁶ This letter provides evidence of Scott's personal involvement in identifying subjects for the earliest landscape illustrations to his novels. While Constable was the facilitator of the project for the *Novels and Tales* and their illustrations, Scott played his part, suggesting that, as with Terry's play, he took an interest in how his work was being represented by the visual media. Connecting Scott with the visual media which Hazlitt, Wordsworth and Coleridge deplored highlights Scott's position as a "professional" writer. While he is popularly identified with his peers as a Romantic writer, his links to the popular visual culture of the period speak of his willingness to get involved with the new media of the bourgeois classes, a willingness which was commercially driven and at odds with the ideology of many of his contemporaries.

The illustrated *Novels and Tales* in 1821 however were not targeted at the same market as that of theatrical productions. Before the publication of the *Magnum Opus* in 1829, the Waverley novels were famously expensive. In the same year that Constable published the *Novels and Tales*, *Kenilworth* set a new standard price of 36s.6d for fiction, and, in their bibliographical study of Scott's works, Todd and Bowden describe the *Novels and Tales* as a luxury item for "the more affluent readers".¹⁸⁷ The 1821 set of sixteen volumes was priced at £6, and was published in the smaller 12o format with copperplate title-page vignettes (see catalogue section 2). They were then republished later that year in the larger 8vo format, for which Nasmyth's plates were enlarged and re-engraved. In 1822, the *Novels and Tales* was followed sequentially, and in the same physical format, by the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley*, which was in turn followed in 1824 by the

¹⁸⁶ NLS MS.791.ff 68. See appendix 1.

¹⁸⁷ Todd and Bowden *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History*, p. 772.

Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley. Together, these volumes presented the consumer with all the Waverley novels yet written in a standard, collectable and illustrated format from *Waverley* to *Quentin Durward*, a total of 29 volumes in the 8o and 33 volumes in the 12mo, each with one title page illustration by Nasmyth and engraved by either by W. H. Lizars (for the first sixteen volumes) or William Archibald. The price of the *Novels and Tales* was in keeping with that of *The Heart of Midlothian* itself: *Blackwood's Magazine*, which according to Jon Klancher demonstrated a “lively conservatism directed more toward commercial and professional readers”, reviewed *The Heart of Midlothian* favourably, but complained at the price Constable had placed on the novel.

We have some suspicion, that our good friend Mr Constable wished a fourth volume in the way of trade, that he might, with more shew of justice, charge the exorbitant price of £1, 12s. for a book which in former times would have been sold *for little more* than half that price. Modern publishers indeed publish for the aristocracy; and we would wish this highly popular author of Waverley to consider how many thousands of respectable readers, the prices of his books, and, beyond all the others, the price of this one, exclude from the perusal of his works.¹⁸⁸

In this climate, Terry and Constable had two clearly defined, differentiated markets to target. While the theatre represented a popular, bourgeois alternative for a new middle-class audience which, according to *Blackwood's*, could not afford to buy the novel, Constable could still charge high prices for a smaller readership in a higher wage bracket. Before 1819, none of the first editions of the Waverley novels in Scotland had been illustrated – Constable's partners in London, Hurst, Robinson and Co., and his competitor John Murray, had been employing Richard Westall and Thomas Stothard to illustrate the English publications of Scott's poetry since 1809, but Constable, presumably on the insistence of Scott himself, had resisted. The reasons for this resistance are highlighted in a letter of 1810 to Joanna Baillie Scott, in which Scott expressed his concern at Westall's forthcoming illustrations to *The Lady of the Lake*: “If Westall who is really a man of talent faild in figures of chivalry where he had so many paintings to guide him what in the Devils name will he make of highland figures ... I expect to see my chieftain Sir Roderick *Dhu* ... in the guise of a recruiting serjaint of the Black Watch and his Bard the very model of Auld Robin Gray upon a japand tea-tray.” Scott did not trust artists who did not appreciate the antiquarian authenticity with which he textured his poetry and novels, and, as Richard Altick points out in his book *Paintings from Books*, “Scott took justifiable, and timely, pride in his antiquarian expertise in matters of costume and armor, and dispensed it freely to

¹⁸⁸ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* August 1818, p. 570.

applicants from the theatre and the painting room".¹⁸⁹ As Westall, an Englishman working from London, was clearly unfamiliar with the cultural and antiquarian nuances of Scottish costume and custom which Scott delineated in his novels, he was not trusted by Scott to represent his texts visually.

Scott's approval of Nasmyth's participation in the illustration of his novels, however, had both artistic and commercial motivations. By 1819, Scott's resistance to the illustration of his novels had subsided, and Nasmyth, along with the history painter William Allan (who was concurrently employed on a separate set of narrative illustrations), was the artist of choice. First, as the playbill to Terry's play has already established, Nasmyth's name as an illustrator would have had commercial weight in promoting the *Novels and Tales*. In an earlier publication called *The Poetry Contained in the Novels, Tales and Romances of the Author of "Waverley"*, an advertisement had appeared for the *Novels and Tales* emphasising Nasmyth's participation as an illustrator, and he was already an established name in landscape and portrait painting in Scotland.¹⁹⁰ And secondly, Nasmyth was the type of artist who Scott would have trusted to represent his texts visually: that is, he was clearly talented, an antiquarian, Scottish and a personal friend. As members of the Dilettanti Club on the High Street, Scott and Nasmyth shared an aesthetic appreciation of Edinburgh and the Scottish landscape. Only a few other artists shared or surpassed the esteem in which Scott held Nasmyth, painters such as David Wilkie or Allan. But Nasmyth's involvement with Terry's play, his social connections to both Terry and Scott, and his renown in theatrical set-painting at the time made him the perfect candidate artistically and commercially to illustrate the Waverley novels.

Landscape illustration

William Allan also fitted the type of artist Scott trusted to illustrate his novels, and in fact had been commissioned in 1819 to illustrate the first edition of *Novels and Tales* (which eventually appeared with only one illustration by William Lizars reproduced for each volume), but the process became too long and protracted, and the final pictures were only ever published in a separate volume called *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820), an illustrative supplement to the novels for private collectors.

¹⁸⁹ Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), p. 216.

¹⁹⁰ Todd and Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History*, p. 754.

Allan's *Illustrations* were narrative depictions of specific scenes from the texts, and were primarily concerned with delineating Scott's characters in dramatic or comic situations. Nasmyth's illustrations to the *Novels and Tales* provide an important counterfoil to Allan's pictures, and betray their compositional and thematic debt to his theatrical scenery. The focus of the illustrations are Scott's localities rather than the characters: all the original illustrations were published by Constable in a separate, concurrent publication called *Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes Supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales Of the Author of Waverley* (1821). This title marks the start of the game the public liked to play with Scott's novels, namely, identifying original locations from the texts. This game had been played with Scott's characters for some years before. An article in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1817 claimed that,

About eight months ago, Lady CASTLEREAGH sent for and obtained from Mr James DAVIDSON, in Hyndley, Liddisdale, the true live representative of Dandie Dinmont, one of his young Mustards, of whom such respectable mention is made in the novel of Guy Mannering.¹⁹¹

This is one example of dozens, and this fascination with Scott's character types found its visual articulation in Allan's *Illustrations*. The illustrative counterpart to character illustration was landscape scenery: ever since the publication of Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1805, and then *The Lady of the Lake* in 1810, tourists had flocked to Scotland to identify for themselves the sites so vividly rendered for them by the Wizard of the North. Nasmyth's landscape illustrations play on this fascination with locality, a fascination which Scott seemed to encourage.

Both Scott and Nasmyth, as has been discussed, had had experience with contemporary illustrated travel literature, most notably with the *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* and the *Provincial Antiquities*. These publications had a significant impact on the landscape illustrations by Nasmyth for the Waverley novels. As chapter 2 argued, Scott's Scottish narratives set up a dialectical discourse with contemporary travel literature, which, in the mid-1810s, outsold the novel by almost two to one. Such travel titles, according to Benjamin Colbert, are difficult to define generically, as they include satirical, gothic and comic novels, while novels like Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* often incorporated the discourse and format of travel journals from actual journeys made by the authors. The Highland novels of Scott, particularly works such as *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, slot perfectly into this wider genre of satirical domestic travel literature. Edward Waverley

¹⁹¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, Saturday, Nov 15th, 1817.

and Francis Osbaldistone are essentially historicised tourist figures, taking the modern reader across the highland line from Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively. Ian Duncan, in his introduction to James Hogg's *Winter Evening Tales*, articulates the function of the hero figure in the early nineteenth-century national tale.

National tales offered their middle-class readers a regionally specific representation of the manners and traditions of rural communities, located in one of the ancient nations absorbed into the British state at the successive Acts of Union. The typical national tale narrates the discovery of this local way of life by a visiting stranger, a gentleman from the metropolis, who may be an absentee landlord or simply a tourist.¹⁹²

While William Allan's illustrations offered the novel-buyer a "regionally specific representation of the manners and traditions" of Scott's characters, Nasmyth's illustrations addressed the specificity of the topography of Scott's localities. Scott's narratives, mediated through the Waverley hero, took the reader through the landscapes of Scotland in various points in its history, while Nasmyth's illustrations authenticated the historicity of the events narrated by visually reproducing those localities in which they occurred. The literary discourse Scott maintained with contemporary travel literature was in this way supported by the visual discourse of Nasmyth's topographical illustrations. Not only did a Waverley novel, illustrated with landscape illustrations, conform to a wider literary market for illustrated tourist guides through Britain during and after the Napoleonic Wars, but Scott's and Nasmyth's participation in such travel literature provided continuity between the two genres. Nasmyth's name on an illustration to a Waverley novel would appeal to the market for illustrated literature such as the *Provincial Antiquities*, for which he had produced an illustration of *Edinburgh from the Glasgow Road* in 1820, a year prior to the publication of his illustrations for the *Novels and Tales*. In this way, Constable and Scott were deliberately targeting a wider market for tourist literature by including illustrations which conformed to the topographical imagery being produced for contemporary travel guides of Edinburgh and Scotland. The move to have the Waverley novels illustrated by a well-known landscape painter and theatre-set designer demonstrated Scott's grasp of a market hungry for topographical imagery: Nasmyth's landscape illustration of the Waverley novels conformed specifically to this market. Scott's, and Nasmyth's, understanding of this market had been achieved through their individual, and joint, participation in topographical literature and illustration. The innovation of the landscape illustrations to the Waverley

¹⁹² James Hogg, *Winter Evening Tales*, ed. Ian Duncan, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. xxiv.

novels was to appropriate the visual discourse of travel literature for the authentication of a historical, fictional narrative.

Nasmyth was the ideal illustrator for Scott in this sense: Nasmyth shared with Scott the desire to present his national landscape and architecture with as much idiosyncratic detail as possible. As J. Cooksey states, “Scott’s writing abounds with detailed and sober description, much of it topographical, and Nasmyth responded with meticulous graphic representation of the historical monuments referred to in the text”.¹⁹³ The Tolbooth, therefore, takes on a greater symbolic significance in the artistic relationship and understanding between the two men. Their witnessing of the destruction of the Tolbooth was an important moment in the creative lives of both men, and each of them sought to preserve the memory of the history it represented through their work together on the *The Heart of Midlothian*. Because of his proximity to this event, Nasmyth was probably the only artist, apart from Skene (who had made sketches himself of the building before its destruction), whom Scott would have trusted to represent such an important, symbolic national monument, particularly in relation to his own novel. Nasmyth’s attention to architectural detail and his shared antiquarian desire to reproduce that detail faithfully as a visual record made him the ideal illustrator of the national landscape and architecture. Scott had witnessed Nasmyth’s approach and skill in rendering the Scottish landscape through their work for the *Border* and *Provincial Antiquities*, while also knowing his reputation as a set-designer and knowing him personally through Terry and the Dilettanti Club.

Scott’s and Nasmyth’s work for the *Border Antiquities* and the *Provincial Antiquities*, therefore, informed the first landscape illustrations of the Waverley novels. These two publications were involved in a project to record faithfully sites of specific historical and picturesque importance to Scotland, during a period in which these sites were under threat from the rapid process of physical and social change brought on by industrialisation and the requirements of modern life. This project informed the writing of the Waverley novels, particularly *The Heart of Midlothian*, and the desire to inscribe the memory of the old Edinburgh which was disappearing before Scott’s eyes. In precisely the same manner, Nasmyth’s illustrative work for the picture books of Edinburgh and Scotland was translated to conform to the genre of historical fiction, performing essentially the same function of recording a landscape or a building in its historical state before it disappeared from popular

¹⁹³ J. C. B. Cooksey, *Alexander Nasmyth H.R.S.A. 1758-1840. A Man of the Scottish Renaissance*, (Edinburgh: Whittingehame House Publishing, 1991), p. 97.

memory or culture. In this way, the first landscape illustrations of the Waverley novels were directly inspired and informed by the visual discourse of contemporary illustrated travel-guides and tourist literature, and by the experience gained by both men through their participation in this genre.

Illustrative supplements

Nasmyth's landscape illustrations for the *Novels and Tales* set the template for images of topographical scenery connected with localities in the Waverley novels, and Constable's plan of publishing the illustrations separately from the novels themselves in *Sixteen Engravings* pre-empted the industry for similar publications which would proliferate in the 1830s. Together with Allan's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, Constable provided the owners of previous editions of the novels with new illustrations. These two editions set the precedent for future generations of extra-illustration of the Waverley novels. Such extra-illustration was not new, as chapter 2 explained regarding the illustrations by Rowlandson, among others, for the canonised eighteenth-century novelists; however, it *was* new in terms of the intention of these illustrations to market a contemporary novelist. Nasmyth's illustrations formed a neat contrast to those of Allan, they were not meant to compete with each other, rather to complement each other, thereby engendering two dominant strands of Waverley illustration: narrative and topographical. These strands were recognised and capitalised upon firstly by Scott's publishers in both Edinburgh and London, and then by opportunists primarily in London following Scott's death. Following Constable's publication of Allan's and Nasmyth's illustrations in separate supplemental editions, Hurst, Robinson and Co. published C. R. Leslie's illustrations of the London first editions in an identical format, entitled *A New Series of Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* (1823). In 1825, Constable published Nasmyth's illustrations for the *Novels and Romances* in the *Illustrations of the Novels and Romances of the "Author of Waverley"*. Cadell then followed his predecessor's example, publishing the *Magnum* illustrations separately in the *Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1829-33): as the catalogue (section 6) demonstrates, the *Magnum* illustrations are dominated by figurative, narrative scenes rather than landscape illustrations, and as such, the *Illustrations* therefore formed a neat partner-publication to Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1830), which again complemented rather than competed with each other. In fact, Cadell attempted to publish his own partner-publication to the *Illustrations of the Waverley*

Novels by producing Skene's *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels* (1829), but only one of the two projected instalments were actually published due to the work-load placed on Skene, who had to etch his own designs. All these publications followed the initial separation of topography and character studies as laid down by Nasmyth and Allan, and had their roots in Constable's two volumes of supplemental illustration.

Sixteen Engravings served another purpose in Constable's marketing strategy, however. Nasmyth's title page illustrations to the *Novels and Tales* were published without identifying captions or titles. While the Tolbooth was a particularly identifiable image, other scenes such as *Caerlaverock Castle* for volume III (*Guy Mannering*) or Nasmyth's imagined depiction of *Tully Veolan* for volume I (*Waverley*) were less obvious scenes to the general reading public. They are identifiable only from the *Sixteen Engravings* publication, in which captions identify the specific location in the text they are supposed to represent. Curious readers would have had to buy *Sixteen Engravings* as a luxury supplement to the novels themselves. This was a shrewd commercial strategy by Constable, and became a template for a series of volumes in the 1830s which attempted to illustrate Scott's localities in a similar format, but at cheaper prices. The first of these was Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations* in 1830, which was published with Scott's personal blessing.¹⁹⁴ Again, *Landscape Illustrations* provided a supplementary source of illustration for owners of the novels. Individual plates could be extracted from the book and instructions were provided as to how to incorporate the images into the reader's own edition of the relevant Waverley novel. This market for supplementary illustration points to the growing need amongst the new middle-class readership to have Scott's descriptive prose realised for them pictorially. This marks another development in the pre-photographic Regency period of the sensationalism of the "real": the public demand for realisation in theatrical productions was relocated to the domestic environment, and into the increasingly inclusive forum of novel readership.

A comparison of the prices charged for such supplements also provides an insight into the changing market for illustration over this period: on first publication, *The Heart of Midlothian* could be bought in four volumes for a total of £1.12.0; by 1821, Constable was charging £6 for sixteen volumes of *The Novels and Tales*, while the small but exclusive

¹⁹⁴ The second edition of *Landscape Illustrations* reproduced a facsimile of the letter Scott sent to Tilt to thank him for a copy of the first edition.

Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes cost 10s. In 1830, Charles Tilt was charging only 4s for each four-plate instalment of the *Landscape Illustrations* (of which there were 20), an affordable and stylish addition to the *Magnum Opus*, which was being published concurrently by Cadell. Prices gradually dropped throughout the 1820s as the quality of the images improved, thanks to steel-plate technology, and the *Magnum Opus* set new standards in high quality, cheap publications based on rigid production values. Tilt's idea was to complement the illustrations which were being produced for the *Magnum*: the *Magnum* illustrations were narrative images depicting specific scenes and characters from the texts, just as Allan had been doing in his *Illustrations* ten years previously. There were two illustrations for each of the 48 volumes of the *Magnum*, and Tilt produced an additional 80 landscape illustrations by up to 24 artists. As Nasmyth's *Sixteen Engravings* had done, *Landscape Illustrations* complemented the narrative pictures that were published with the *Magnum*, and was, therefore, a natural progression of the separation of narrative and scenery which had occurred initially in the theatre, and then in Allan's and Nasmyth's early illustrations. The *British Magazine* explained the popularity and growing demand for such volumes in a review of *Landscape Illustrations*.

... we when visiting with him [Scott] some half ruined castle or abbey of the olden time, we have longed to have some clearer idea than even his words could convey, of the scene he had been describing.... The Landscape Illustrations to his works supply us with much that we have desired: they form, as it were, the key to thought...¹⁹⁵

This is a clear articulation of a public need for visual realisations of Scott's descriptions, which germinated in the stage scenery of the 1810s and early 20s and developed into book illustration for domestic consumption. Audiences came to *require* Scott's prose to be visualised for them, lending weight to the reservations of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Hazlitt: the new bourgeois consumer needed "a better guide than imagination" and illustration provided the stimulus, the "key to thought". *Landscape Illustrations* was deliberately targeted at the reading audience identified and cultivated by the *Magnum* edition. The preface to an 1833 edition actually states the decision by the proprietors to "issue a new edition, of a smaller size, and at a price which would render it more accessible to the public", precisely the production values which guided Cadell's *Magnum*. This was exactly the type of popular visual aid which Romantics deplored as the death knell of the reader's imaginative interpretation. Nasmyth, however, one of Scott's earliest and most prolific illustrators and Scotland's leading landscape painter, helped

¹⁹⁵ *British Magazine*, July 1830.

cultivate this trend of textual illustration through his experience with theatrical design, and Scott himself encouraged the commercial repackaging of his novels in the popular visual media.

This chapter has sought to reinstate Nasmyth's influence on subsequent landscape illustrations of the Waverley novels which proliferated in the 1830s, and the influence of theatrical design on his own illustrations. His landscape illustrations were the first to express the connection between history and the landscape as defined by the Waverley novels, and set the template for later publications and artists. His work in illustrating the novels was clearly influenced by his experience with Terry's theatrical production of *The Heart of Midlothian*, which taught him the thematic importance of the landscape in contextualising the novels he was illustrating, while authenticating for the readers the historicity of what they were reading. *The Heart of Midlothian* also plays an important part in the development of landscape illustration. Even though it was the least illustrated of all the novels before 1830, the theatrical interpretations fed the public desire for spectacle, and Scott's own complicity in this new, popular market for the visual is demonstrated by his desire to promote Terry's play and his willingness to allow Nasmyth to illustrate his novels for the first time in Scotland. Scott's participation in the visualisation of his work, however muted and mediated through his publishers Constable and Cadell, provide an interesting counter-point to the distaste of contemporary Romantics for vulgar simulations: it is not a distaste that Scott seems to have shared, and underlines his emergence as a professional writer in the modern era. Nasmyth helped to repackage Scott's work, appropriating the visual discourse of contemporary travel literature, and incorporating his experience of theatre-set design, for the illustrations of the Waverley novels and, through them, a visual sense of Scottish identity. The symbol of this identity in *The Heart of Midlothian* is the Tolbooth itself, familiar to Scott and his readers, and aestheticised by Nasmyth in his illustrations.

Chapter 5

William Allan: Scott's illustrator

William Allan, the Scottish history painter, became the first illustrator of Walter Scott's Waverley novels to be personally approved by the author with a group of illustrations published in 1820 entitled *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. He received unprecedented personal sponsorship from the author who identified him as an artist capable of faithfully representing his narratives in pictorial form. In a letter of 15 April 1819, Scott wrote to the Duke of Buccleuch to encourage him to commission a painting of the *Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moore, 1679* for which Allan had produced a preliminary sketch.

Allan has made a sketch which I shall take to town with me when I can go in hopes lord Stafford or some picture buyer may fancy it and order a picture. The subject is the murder of Bishop Sharpe on Magus Moor prodigiously well treated – The savage ferocity of the assassins crowding one on another to strike at the prelate on his knees contrasted with the old mans figure and that of his daughter endeavouring to interpose for his protection & withheld by a ruffian of milder mood than his fellows – the dogged fanatical severity of Rathille's countenance who remained on horseback witnessing with stern fanaticism the murder he did not chuse to be active in lest it should be said that he struck out of private revenge are all amazingly well combined in the sketch.¹⁹⁶

This letter signals the personal and extensive interest Scott was to have in the promotion of Allan's career as a painter of Scottish history. Although it articulates exactly what Scott admired in the sketch, it does not explain the specific interest he had in advocating Allan's talents, and the part he was to play in the development of Scottish history painting. In the same letter Scott goes on to write: "Constable has offerd Allan three hundred pounds to make sketches for an edition of the Tales of my landlord and other novels of that cycle & says he will give him the same sum next year. So from being pinchd enough this very deserving artist suddenly finds himself at his ease."¹⁹⁷

Scott advanced the careers of several artists during his life, and many more indirectly through the illustration of his novels throughout the nineteenth century, but his sponsorship of Allan was unprecedented. Indeed, Allan was the first commissioned

¹⁹⁶ *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 Vols., ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1933), 5:350.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

artist to illustrate the Waverley novels in Scotland, and, it would appear, under the direct request of Scott himself, as the English artists Richard Westall and Thomas Stothard, who had been illustrating London editions of his poetry since 1809, were regarded “more as a necessary evil”.¹⁹⁸ The illustrations of the *Tales of my Landlord* mentioned above actually became illustrations of all the novels up to and including *The Legend of Montrose* (1819), published in a separate publication *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (December 1820), rather than as plates incorporated into the texts of a collected edition of the novels as initially projected. They comprise narrative illustrations of characters and scenes from the novels, providing a neat counterpart and contrast to Alexander Nasmyth’s topographical landscape illustrations for the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1821). By 1820, Nasmyth was already a well established name in Scottish landscape and theatrical-scenery painting, but Allan had been struggling to forge his reputation, painting scenes and costumes of Eastern Europe and Russia from where he had returned in 1814. Scott took it upon himself not only to advertise Allan’s talents to potential patrons, but to mould him into a painter of Scottish history which propounded his own antiquarian interests in costume. Scott’s influence on Allan’s career has been documented by Jeremy Howard and Roisin Kennedy, but the importance of the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* as the first illustrations commissioned in Scotland, with Scott’s active encouragement, have not been fully considered. Allan was the first author-approved illustrator of the Waverley novels, and as such had no precedent to look to – this gave him the freedom to interpret the text in close consultation with the author, creating the benchmark for the next generation of illustrators and his own Scottish historical paintings.

This chapter proposes to analyse the importance of Allan’s illustrations to the Waverley novels, not only as the first illustrations completed under Scott’s guidance, but as the images which were to set the precedent for the next generation of artists, which would include C. R. Leslie, David Octavius Hill, Robert Scott Lauder and George Harvey. Using correspondence from Scott’s publisher Archibald Constable and Scott’s own letters and references, it will argue that they constitute the first body of

¹⁹⁸ Peter Garside, “Picturesque figure and landscape: Meg Merrilies and the gypsies”, from *Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 152. This claim is supported by Catherine Gordon in her article “The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-Century Enthusiasm and Adaptation” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (London: 1971).

work to visualise Scott's prose as the author himself envisaged them, and that Scott had begun to write novels – such as *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) and *Ivanhoe* (1820) – with potential illustration in mind. It will also argue that previous assumptions of Scott's apparent distaste for illustration of his works must be qualified by his own involvement with the illustration process and his promotion of Allan. Finally, it will demonstrate how the character Dick Tinto, who appears in two of his novels from this period (*The Bride of Lammermoor* and *St Ronan's Well*), is used in a discussion of the new trend for book illustration, and is most likely based on Allan himself.

Old Mortality and The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor, 1679

Allan's painting of *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* was exhibited in 1821, but its conception in 1819 is significant in that it was during this period that Scott's influence really began to direct Allan's career. The major influence for this painting was Scott's by now famous *Old Mortality* (1816). While the murder itself, a reasonably obscure but important moment in Scottish history, is not actually described in the novel, it is the event which precipitates the action of the subsequent narrative: one of the murderers, John Balfour of Burley, is introduced while on the run from the crime scene. Burley is depicted clearly on the right of the painting, hand on his sheathed sword restraining the servants from assisting their master while directing the crime.



Fig. 14: Engraving after William Allan *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor, 1679*

In the *Magnum Opus* edition of *Old Mortality*, Scott gives as a source for this scene a first hand account by one of the assassins, which was later edited by Scott's friend Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe and published as an appendix to Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland* in 1817.¹⁹⁹ According to Jeremy Howard, it was probably this same source which Allan used for his painting.²⁰⁰ Allan and Sharpe were both frequent guests at Scott's home at Castle Street in Edinburgh by 1818, and Allan would almost certainly have been made aware of this document during these visits, while Scott was grooming him to paint certain scenes of Scottish history. This painting is important both in the development of Scottish history painting and in the early stages of a new type of illustration of the Waverley novels. Howard points out that Scottish subjects for history paintings in this period were in themselves unusual. In the eighteenth century Gavin Hamilton and David Allan had painted history scenes from the life of Mary Queen of Scots, while Alexander Runciman had decorated walls and ceilings in Penicuik House with scenes of Scottish history and legend. But by the time Allan

¹⁹⁹ James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678*, (Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne, 1817).

²⁰⁰ Jeremy Howard, *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, with contributions from John Morrison, Sara Stevenson and Andrzej Szczerski (Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries, 2001), p. 15n. Howard says that "A brief excerpt from Kirkton was included in the catalogue to the memorial exhibition of Allan paintings held in Alexander Hill's gallery in 1851".

returned to Scotland from eastern Europe in 1814, Scotland had no resident history painters at all, and his obituary noted that for most of his life he was the only practising history painter in the country.²⁰¹

Howard argues that the main factor in Allan's decision in turning to Scottish subjects was his failure to sell those oriental paintings which reflected his experiences and observations of Russian and Eastern European life and traditions: these paintings met with critical but not commercial approval. There are two other important factors however: first, Allan had come into contact and renewed his friendship with David Wilkie, probably during Wilkie's visit to the Highlands in 1817 to research his painting of *The Penny Wedding* (1818). Wilkie's influence and interest in Allan's development is clear from the correspondence which continued between them from this point onwards, but even more so from the incorporation into Allan's work of specifically Scottish subjects of rural, indigenous life. Secondly, and more significantly, was the market for the representation of Scottish landscape and characters which Scott was beginning to generate through the massive popularity of his novels and poetry. In London, Schetky became the first published illustrator of Scott's poetry in 1808 with illustrations of the Scottish topography for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, followed closely by Westall, Stothard, Henry Singleton and Richard Cook, all of whom produced illustrations for the poetry from 1809 onwards. English illustration of the *novels* followed suit in 1816, although these were paintings derived from the novels and not book-illustrations. According to Catherine Gordon, exhibitions held between 1816 and 1818 displayed paintings by John Partridge, Samuel Drummond and Sir William Beechey depicting the gypsy character Meg Merrilies from *Guy Mannering*.²⁰² Allan, however, was the first official book-illustrator of the novels in late 1820: Westall's illustrations of *Guy Mannering* and *The Monastery* were published in London by Hurst, Robinson and Co. in 1821, and in the same year, C. R. Leslie produced illustrations for the first edition of *Kenilworth*. In Edinburgh however, Nasmyth was completing the landscape illustrations for the *Novels and Tales* and Allan had already published his *Illustrations*. Scott's novels not only provided these artists with multiple subjects and incidents from history to illustrate, they also created the demand for such images

²⁰¹ Jeremy Howard, *William Allan*, p. 13.

²⁰² Catherine Gordon, "The Illustration of Sir Walter Scott: Nineteenth-century Enthusiasm and Adaptation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (London: 1971): p. 306.

through their popularity. As will be discussed, Allan was the first artist to identify this market, with Scott's and Constable's guidance and motivation.

While Scottish historical subjects had been depicted before the appearance of *Waverley* in 1814, including that of the murder of Archbishop Sharpe (which John Opie had produced for Bowyer's *Hume* in 1806), Allan's painting betrays clear and definitive debts to Scott's representation of history in its depiction of the Covenanters. The Covenanters are not sympathetically portrayed in this painting, the murder is presented as an act of violence and opportunism, the Archbishop's luggage is looted as he is being stabbed and his daughter is held back in terror at the orders of Burley. This view of the Covenanters was not only in keeping with Scott's portrayal of them in *Old Mortality*, and particularly the maniacal Burley, but it was also contrary to the popular and traditional public memory of the Covenanters as national martyrs.

Scott had incurred the public denunciation of Thomas McCrie, author of a life of John Knox, who attacked the biased (as he saw it) delineation of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality* as bloodthirsty fanatics.²⁰³ Scott, writing anonymously in the *Quarterly Review*, happily indicted his heroes, plots and structure, but insisted that in his representation of the Covenanters he had "acted in strict conformity with historical truth", laying out evidence to support his claim. Beth Dickson has summarized the opposing interpretations of the Covenanters' position in the history of Scotland: for Scott, the Covenanters were "uncouth disturbers of the state's peace, meddling in ecclesiastical matters beyond their station", while McCrie held them as "educated challengers of the state's power, obeying god—a higher power—as they have individually apprehended His will".²⁰⁴ McCrie's article, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, was backed up by articles in both the *British Review* and the *Eclectic Review*, and John Galt reacted angrily to Scott's presentation of the Covenanters and Claverhouse by writing his own novel, *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), in order to redress the perceived offence.²⁰⁵ As Ina Ferris points out, Galt saw himself as

²⁰³ Thomas McCrie was a dissenting Presbyterian clergyman and author of a respected biography of John Knox. He was offended by Scott's treatment of Covenanters. His attack was supported by Josiah Conder in the English press, editor of the *Eclectic Review*, while Francis Jeffrey defended Scott.

²⁰⁴ Beth Dickson "Sir Walter Scott and the Limits of Toleration," *The Scottish Literary Journal* 18/2 (1991): p. 46-61.

²⁰⁵ John Buchan describes how, with *Old Mortality*, Scott had attempted "a reconstruction of a period of history far outside living experience but furiously alive in popular memory". He describes the common memory of the Covenanters as a "race of demigods" whose history "had been written, even by sophisticated Edinburgh lawyers, in a vein of hagiography". John Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, (London: Cassell, 1987), p. 160.

protecting the reputation of his own and Scott's ancestors.²⁰⁶ James Hogg's *Brownie of Bodsbeck* (1818) was actually in manuscript form long before the publication of *Old Mortality*, but it would inevitably have been read as a reaction to Scott. Familial loyalty played a part in Hogg's portrayal of events, and is directly linked to the oral version passed down through the generations. However, Allan's *Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* clearly followed Scott's "uncouth" model rather than popular memory of the event: the rage of the murderer, the intent of Burley and the calculating coldness of Rathillets who watches from his horse portray the violence and fury of religious fanaticism, in compliance with Scott's interpretation of events.

This painting departed from its predecessors in its psychological treatment of the historical moment. Allan's approach to the depiction of historical events presented them as the experiences and consequent actions of manifestly ordinary human beings. The Covenanters are not portrayed here as noble martyrs; two men squabble over the looted luggage, while a figure behind the Archbishop holds up a purse of money. As Howard points out, "the event is not consciously presented as a defining moment in Presbyterian history but rather as the lived experience of the people involved: a complex, slice of everyday life, albeit a violent, dramatic and at least partially venal one".²⁰⁷ This was an innovative pictorial approach to historical painting, which reflected the influence both of the presentation of history in the Waverley novels, and Scott's own personal interest in Allan's work. History in the Waverley novels is presented as the unfolding of actual events to characters who do not necessarily understand or intuit the historical significance of their actions: the characters in Allan's picture are experiencing this moment in the same way, not conscious of the significance it was to have on the future of Scotland.

Historians and commentators such as David Daiches and Alexander Calder generally agree that Scott's re-evaluation of the Covenanters' real motivations and actions were historically closer to the truth than popular memory had dictated.²⁰⁸ While Scott does not discount their importance nor undermine their bravery and conviction under persecution (particularly highlighted with the state-sponsored torture of

²⁰⁶ Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

²⁰⁷ Jeremy Howard, *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, p. 15.

²⁰⁸ Beth Dickson, in "Sir Walter Scott and the Limits of Toleration," (p. 46) quotes from Daiches' "Scott's Achievement as a Novelist" in *Modern Judgements: Walter Scott*, ed. D. Devlin (London: 1969); and from Calder's introduction to *Tales of Old Mortality* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

Macbriar), his research into the literature of the time brought him closer to the truth of the movement than public opinion had been willing to consider. However, *Old Mortality*, for all its legitimate claims to historical accuracy, is involved in the creation of a counter-myth to that presented by McCrie. Jane Millgate reminds us that although, as Daiches has argued, *Old Mortality* was the most historically accurate representation of the period up to this point, Scott was concerned more than ever with narrative structure and control. Millgate points out that "Scott's aim is a narrative made convincing by its historical and regional truth, by the realistic power of its characterization, and by the special kind of 'rightness' that derives from the expression of historical and psychological inevitability in terms of narrative pattern".²⁰⁹ Scott was self-consciously combining historical authenticity with the artificiality of narrative structure, and any pretence to historical realism in *Old Mortality*, or any Waverley novel, must be counterbalanced against the fictive framework in which it is presented. We are presented with the illusion of the authenticity of an historical character-type, an illusion which is lent further credibility to the novel-reader by an illustrator like Allan. Allan's illustrations act as authenticating visual evidence of Scott's descriptions to a pre-photography readership, and this evidence largely relies on the antiquarian observation of historical costume. The result is the convincing creation of a counter-myth to the popularly held idea of the Covenanter as national martyr: the combination of Scott's historically believable, but fictional narrative, and the use of illustration to present the characters involved with an antiquarian realism, resulted in a convincing re-interpretation of the Covenanters both textually and visually. This re-interpretation is crystallised in the visual arts with *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*.

This re-appraisal of historical tradition clearly impacted on Allan's work in two ways: first, *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* broke from popular preconceptions of the Covenanters as national heroes; and secondly, it took a greater interest in the authenticity of the historical moment as a lived experience, a development attributable to Scott's narrative technique in the historical novel. In particular, as will be discussed, there is a clear effort on Allan's part to depict an historical moment with psychological and antiquarian realism which separates it from contemporary historical painting and underlines Scott's influence. Contemporary British history painting had its genesis in Benjamin West's depiction of *The Death of General Wolfe* (1771), which combined

²⁰⁹ Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 117-18.

recent historical events with neo-classical compositions on huge canvases. Such images reached their peak during the Napoleonic Wars, with paintings such as Turner's *Battle of Trafalgar* (1806) and West's *The Death of Lord Nelson* (1808), and asserted above everything else the success of the new British nationalism. Scott and Allan, however, initiated a project in Scotland which asserted a *Scottish* national identity as distinct from the homogenising British patriotism which was being propagated in London. *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* is not a scene of national pride, but an attempt to faithfully record an event of national, Scottish importance as it happened.

The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe was not the first painting of Allan's to be influenced by the Waverley novels. Allan and Scott had already begun a reciprocal, cross-disciplinary process of promotion and illustration: Allan had the distinction of being mentioned in at least two Waverley novels, the first being *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), and the second *St Ronan's Well* (1824). Allan returned the favour by painting a scene similar to the one in which he is mentioned in *The Heart of Midlothian*, a painting entitled *Jeanie Dean's Interview with her Father*: this was the beginning of the symbiotic relationship Scott and Allan developed after 1818. The painting has been lost and no record of it survives, but, exhibited in 1819, it predates *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* and was the first move Allan made towards the illustration of Scott's work. Exhibited at McIntosh's Gallery on Princes Street in Edinburgh, the scene depicted Jeanie's reunion with her father on her return from London, which is not actually described in the novel, but does echo the scene in which Allan is mentioned by name.

... Douce David Deans himself, in his best light-blue Sunday's coat, his strong gramashes of leggings of thick grey cloth—the very copper-buckles—the broad Lowland blue bonnet, thrown back as he lifted his eyes to Heaven in speechless gratitude—the grey locks that straggled from beneath it down his weather-beaten “haffets”—the bald and furrowed forehead—the clear blue eye, that, undimmed by years, gleamed bright and pale from under its shaggy grey pent-house—the features, usually so stern and stoical, now melted into unwonted expression of rapturous joy, affection, and gratitude—were all those of David Deans; and so happily did they assort together, that, should I ever again see my friends Wilkie or Allan, I will beg, borrow or steal from them a sketch of this very scene.²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, ed. David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 375.

This passage is problematic. The “I” of the narrative here is clearly not Peter Pattieson, the fictional land-lord and narrator, but Scott himself. Scott knew and admired both Wilkie and Allan, and he subverts his own narrative conceit by pointedly introducing them. Moreover, there is a clear assumption on behalf of the author that his reading audience will also be familiar with the *type* of character that either artist (but particularly Wilkie) would paint. The description of David Deans is predicated on a Scottish historical character as he would be represented in modern painting. It is as if Scott is writing this passage with a visual image in his head, derived from the *type* of character Wilkie or Allan would paint. In essence, the authenticity of the description is disrupted by the closeness of the narrative to contemporary painting. Scott presumes here that his reader is as versed in modern genre painting as he is, and in doing so is consciously writing for an assumed, literate, middle-class, print-buying public. He exceeds the bounds of the novel, as if the image *should* exist in painting also.

Scott’s allusion to Allan in the same breath as Wilkie, the more famous and successful artist, was both a form of flattery and his first public attempt to promote Allan’s talents to a wider audience, namely, his own. Scott and his son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart saw in Allan the potential to groom an artist capable of visualising a national history of Scotland, but first had to convince him to stay in Edinburgh while he struggled to sell his oriental paintings. Scott and Lockhart made clear their intention of keeping Allan in Scotland by organising a lottery in April 1819 on his behalf for which the two main prizes were his *Circassian Captives* and *The Jewish Family*, while Scott was also keeping him occupied with the illustration of his own work. There were qualities they found in Allan which appealed to their own sensibilities apart from his obvious talent, not the least of which was his interest and expertise in historical and ethnic costume. In *St Ronan’s Well*, for example, Scott mentions Allan’s name in connection with the costume party to be held by Lady Penelope: she “is to wear a Grecian habit, forsooth, like one of Will Allan’s eastern subjects”.²¹¹ This again hints at the assumption that Scott’s audience is familiar with the paintings of Allan, while at the same time promoting the very paintings which had initially failed to find buyers. However, the emphasis on the particularities of costume in the description of David Deans provides a clue as to how Allan subsequently came to establish himself as one of Scott’s favourite artists: Allan’s observations of Eastern European life involved keen

²¹¹ Walter Scott, *St Ronan’s Well*, ed. Mark Weinstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 167.

observation of national dress, and his own antiquarian interests in armour and costume found a channel in the visualisation of Scott's historical characters.

Scott first mentions Allan in his correspondence in a letter to Daniel Terry on 25 July 1818 when he exclaims that he is going to enlist "Allans assistance in grouping my armour" at Abbotsford.²¹² Scott and Allan shared a mutual passion as regarded their antiquarian interests in armour and costume, which Scott persuaded Allan to apply to the illustration of his own novels. The influence of this type of authenticity of dress is already being seen in *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*, and Scott articulated his approval of a Scottish artist painting a Scottish scene in a letter to John Lockhart on 1 April 1821: "The faithful turn of the Scottish visages so different from the fantastic vision which an Englishman might have introduced of plaids & tartan & highland sergeants strikes every one."²¹³ As will be discussed, national-historical costume, as part of an attempt to achieve a level of antiquarian authenticity in rendering Scottish domestic life and characters, formed a central motif in the illustrations Allan produced for the early Waverley novels, and went on to influence such historical paintings as *Archbishop Sharpe*.

Historical costume and modern interpretation

The *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820) demonstrate how closely Scott's novels around this period were formulated by the possibility of illustration: as with David Deans, his visual descriptions were shaped by contemporary artistic tastes, and were then interpreted pictorially by the very artists to which he referred. The *Illustrations* provided the world with the first visual approximations of Scott's characters and scenes. They also provided an artistic counterpart to the landscape illustrations Nasmyth concurrently produced for the *Novels and Tales*, pictures which concentrated on the topography associated with the supposed localities in the novels. Nasmyth sought to authenticate and sensationalise the novels through identifying the "*Real Scenes Supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales*", while Allan sought to achieve something similar by recording, with an antiquarian's understanding, the costumes, domestic interiors and physiognomies of the

²¹² *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 Vols. 5:171.

²¹³ *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 Vols. 6:393.

Scottish characters of the novels. His success in this effort was not only recognised by Scott himself, but by an article in the *Edinburgh Monthly Review*.

Mr. Allan has evidently taken the greatest pains in adjusting all the details of the *costume* in the most characteristic manner; and, on this account, the publication possesses a degree of authenticity which we seldom find in illustrations of Scottish manners produced on the other side of the Tweed.²¹⁴

The reviewer has identified the costumes in the illustrations as specifically Scottish: this provides the “authenticity” which Allan and Scott sought to achieve. The greatest contribution Scott, through Allan, made to contemporary Scottish history painting was to conflate the observation of costumes and customs, as propounded in the work of Wilkie, with the historical periods of his novels. Just as Scott’s national-historical subjects can be interpreted as an historicised extension of the ethnographical work of Burns before him, so Allan’s historical subjects for the Waverley novels became historicised extensions of Wilkie’s depictions of contemporary Scottish life. In Allan’s illustrations for the Waverley novels, and in his subsequent Scottish history paintings, the disciplines of history and genre painting come together to form an oeuvre which suited perfectly the antiquarian aspects of Scott’s narratives. This is the “authenticity” with which the reviewer was so impressed.

More interestingly, however, the reviewer also laments the fact that the engravings were completed by English artists rather than their Scottish counterparts. He says:

In a work so completely national as the present, we confess it would have given us much pleasure to have seen the plates executed by Scottish engravers; and we have no small pride in reflecting on the talents which several of our countrymen have displayed in this department of art. The frontispiece, by Lizars, is the only case in which we have been gratified as to this point in the publication but we think that it and his beautiful plate of Crichton Castle, engraved for the *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, afford ample security that he would not have discredited our recommendation.²¹⁵

The attraction of these engravings for the Edinburgh reviewer is their Scottishness, and his disapproval of English engravers being employed on this project reflects his feelings that the authenticity of the illustrations is somehow being compromised by the use of engravers who could not fully understand the subject matter they were dealing with. The reviewer was not alone in distrusting the English in representing their Scottish

²¹⁴ *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1821), February 1821, p. 178.

²¹⁵ *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, February 1821, p. 179.

costumes and landscapes. Constable sent the relevant extracts from the novels which the pictures illustrated to the engravers so that they would have a better understanding of what was required of them: "In order to make the subjects more familiar to the Artists".²¹⁶ This, combined with Allan's criticisms, reflect distrust in the ability of the English engravers to recreate an authentically Scottish image.

There seems to be something innately historical about Scottishness, and the reviewer, as with Scott, clearly feels that this historicity is something to which Englishmen cannot relate. Accuracy in the detail of Scottish costume was a problem Scott constantly encountered with his English illustrators. As early as 1803, he had contemplated illustration for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) by the English artist John James Masquerier. The illustrations were completed but were not published, and Masquerier received a detailed letter from Scott on lowland costume of the period: this letter is important in understanding Scott's later criticisms of English ignorance over the use of tartan and the emphasis he placed on antiquarian authenticity. Masquerier had written to him with some sketches asking his advice on aspects of the costume; in his letter of 12th September 1823, Scott described the traditional lowland dress as:

... a *Maud* or Low Country plaid. It is a long piece of cloth about a yard wide wrapd loosely round the waist like a scarf & from thence brought across the breast & the end thrown over the left shoulder where it hangs loose something like a Spanish Cloak. It is not of Tartan but of the natural colour of the wool with a very small black check which gives it a greyish look. ... A broad belt about his waist is also a part of his costume—it served to retain one end of the Maud & occasionally to carry a large knife or dagger.²¹⁷

This description is very specific, leaving little room for doubt, interpretation or elaboration. In a letter from Lockhart to Masquerier after Scott's death, Lockhart makes the point that "The remarks on the Costume are interesting, for the most of those who have made designs from his works have represented the *Tartan* instead of the low-land *Maud*, even amongst the Borderers."²¹⁸ This clearly became a source of frustration for Scott: a year later, for example, he revealed in a letter concerning proposed illustrations by the artist John Flaxman for the same poem:

I should fear Flaxman's genius is too classic to body forth my Gothic Borderers. Would there not be some risk of them resembling the antique of

²¹⁶ NLS MS.790, f. 568.

²¹⁷ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 12:379.

²¹⁸ NLS MS.935.

Homer's heroes rather than the iron race of Salvator? After all, perhaps nothing is more difficult than for a painter to adapt the author's ideas of an imaginary character, especially *when it is founded on traditions to which the artist is a stranger*. I should like at least to be at his elbow when at work.²¹⁹
[My italics]

This letter provides affirmation that far from being averse or indifferent to illustration, as is popularly believed, Scott encouraged illustration which he felt reflected the national idiosyncrasies of dress and custom captured in his writing. He didn't necessarily blame English artists like Masquerier for being unfamiliar with Scottish eighteenth-century costume, but this was the point for him: he wanted an artist who *was* familiar with the subject matter, so that he could work "at his elbow" and avoid any fundamental misrepresentation of his texts. Allan was such an artist, and Scott clearly did have personal input into the final illustrations as will be discussed. This hypothesis is strengthened by a letter of 1809 to Joanna Baillie discussing the proposed illustrations by Westall to *The Lady of the Lake*. He made the following complaint:

I understand there are two rival sets of illustrations in preparation for the Lady of the Lake, even before she makes her appearance. Both will probably be execrable for if Westall who is really a man of talent fail'd in figures of chivalry where he had so many painters to guide him, what in the Devil's name will he make of Highland figures. I expect to see my chieftain Sir Rhoderick Dhu in the guise of a recruiting sergeant of the Black Watch and his Bard the very model of Auld Robin Grey upon a japand tea-tray.²²⁰

These comments underpin Scott's negative attitude to London-based English illustration of his novels, and the reasons for his championing of Allan, and to a lesser extent David Wilkie (who had built his own reputation in London). These were Scottish artists, whose interest and knowledge of costume, custom and tradition of Scottish historical life echoed his own antiquarian interests. The "japand tea-tray" is a reference to the homogenizing material visual culture which he felt disregarded and degraded exactly the type of subject he was dealing with: a misunderstood, ill-researched and stylised image of a highlander on a fashionable house-hold object perpetuated the inaccuracies and stereotypes of costume and character to which Scotland was being subjected in the creation of a British cultural identity during this period. Scott wanted an artist, or artists, who would correct this imbalance in the visual market, reflecting his own efforts to do so in the literary market. Costume in particular seems to be central to Scott's understanding of the depiction of his own work. He consistently criticised

²¹⁹ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 1:226.

²²⁰ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 2:321.

artists, notably English artists like J. M. W. Turner, for “tartanizing” Lowlanders. For example, he wrote to Robert Cadell about an illustration by William Kidd to *Rob Roy* for the *Magnum* edition complaining that Rob Roy “should have breeches & leggings instead of a dress which is neither a kilt nor a lowland dress”.²²¹

We see from Scott’s letters, therefore, a consistent and insistent preoccupation with the authenticity of historical dress, particularly regarding his Scottish ancestors. This preoccupation forms a part of his antiquarian understanding of history as lived experience. Antiquarianism is principally concerned with objects, it has an interest in detail and display of these objects, and the study of costume falls into this category of historical enquiry. In the early nineteenth century antiquarianism was characterised, and satirised, as a private, amateur pursuit at odds with the philosophical “conjectural” history which was being taught in the institutions. Nonetheless, as Ina Ferris and Yoon Sun Lee have argued, it was (and remains) an important discipline in understanding how life was experienced. Ferris in particular argues that the nature of antiquarianism, that is, the fascination and collection of rare, random and challenging historical artefacts, was crucial in resisting the creation of the myth of British nationhood in the face of war with France during this period. Scottish antiquarianism, as championed by Scott (while also gently ridiculed in *The Antiquary*), was in fact a method of retaining a sense of Scottish national past in resistance to the “homogenizing British patriotism taking hold during the wars with France”.²²² Allan’s illustrations, and his emphasis on costume in denoting the specificity of national and historical character types such as the Covenanters, absorb this desire to present the viewer with an apparently historically reliable representation of how these people looked. For example, we see John Balfour of Burley, one of the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe, delineated as closely as possible to Scott’s description of him in the novel, and then clearly identifiable in the same lowland cloak, boots and bonnet two years later in *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*.

²²¹ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 11:33-4.

²²² Ina Ferris, “Pedantry and the question of Enlightenment History: the figure of the Antiquary in Scott,” *European Romantic Review* 13 (2002): p.274.



Fig. 15: William Allan "Burley's Concealment in the Hay Loft at Milnwood"
(1820)

This illustration, as with every other illustration in the series, is not concerned with action or heightened moments of drama, but rather with contrasting character types, their dress and their manners. Burley is of central interest to Allan here, it is the fanatical, self-righteous Covenanter as depicted by Scott in *Old Mortality* that provides the focus of the image, and Burley is clearly recognisable in *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe* from the way he is dressed in this illustration. The coat, the boots, the bonnet, and even the position of his sword hanging from his left side are all faithfully transposed to the later painting: this not only makes sequential sense (in *Old Mortality*, we meet Burley on the run from the scene of the crime, so he would have been dressed in the same clothes), but it also emphasises Allan's own insistence on the authenticity of costume.

We witness the same consistency in Allan's depictions of Meg Merrilies for *Guy Mannering* in the *Illustrations*. Peter Garside has contrasted Allan's approach to character and costume to that of Westall a year later (1821). Meg Merrilies, while

central to the plot, is a gypsy figure of uncertain descent. Allan's first illustration of her follows the narrative in its description:

... there was in her general attire, or rather in her mode of adjusting it, somewhat of a foreign costume, artfully adopted perhaps for the purpose of adding to the effect of her spells and predictions, or perhaps from some traditional notions respecting the dress of her ancestors. On this occasion, she had a large piece of red cotton cloth rolled about her head in the form of a turban, from beneath which her dark eyes flashed with uncommon lustre.²²³

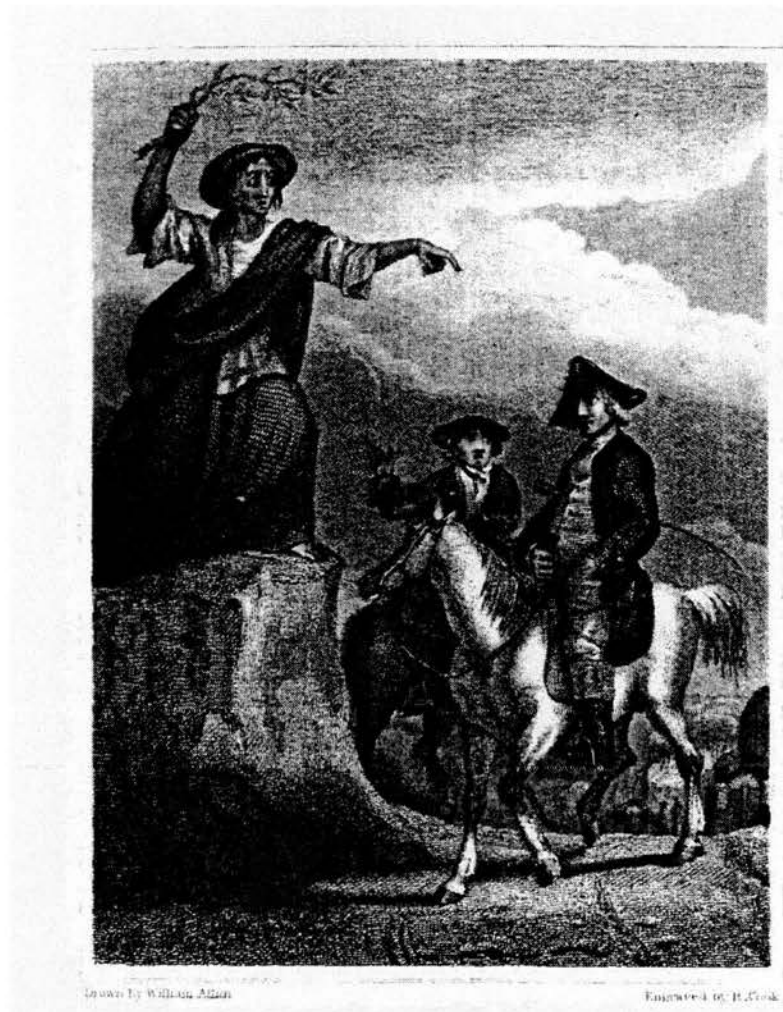


Fig. 16: William Allan "Meg Merrilies predicting the Fall of the House of Ellangowan"

Garside argues that the riders in this illustration are "clothed more as men of their period", and points out that while Westall, in his illustration of the same scene, sacrificed "accuracy of costume and Meg's gypsyhood... in favour of linear design",

²²³ Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ed. P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 43.

Allan, no doubt under Scott's guidance, has understood the lineage of her gypsy "ancestors".²²⁴ Her face is noticeably darker than any other image produced before or since, and, unlike Westall's "hat of indeterminate nature", she is clearly wearing a turban. The lowland plaid, or "Maud", is also faithfully rendered in accordance with Scott's description of the garment to Masquerier. This costume is again faithfully transposed to the later image of "The Meeting of Meg Merrilies, Brown and Dinmont, at the Ale-House in Cumberland" (see fig. 8, p. 100).

Physical appearance (clothes and demeanour) in the Waverley novels is a primary function of characterisation, a fact which Allan has grasped and tried to interpret pictorially. But it also denotes much about the cultural inheritance of his characters: an illustrator who dressed a lowland character in the kilt betrayed for Scott a lack of understanding of the cultural and historical context not only of the character in question, but of his fiction as a whole. The Waverley novels' insistence on the detailed idiosyncrasies of costume, manners, language and location within history directs the reader's attention away from the totalizing, British national myths being formulated through the institutional preoccupation with conjectural history, onto the singularities of a specific time and place within that history. However, Scott is also aware that in undermining conjectural historiography through antiquarianism, he was also involved in his own myth-making process. As Susan Manning argues, "Antiquarian procedures facilitated a rather suspect form of engagement with history, recently described as "affectionating" the past, in which the recovery of family "relics," local landmarks, and memorabilia evoked sentimental and proprietorial responses".²²⁵ The antiquarian object demands contemplation of the specificities of an historical moment, and thus resists the master-narratives of totalizing national mythologies. However, antiquarianism, as Scott demonstrates, is just another mode of story-telling, starting with, and focusing on, the object and imagining the history around it. Allan's illustrations and subsequent paintings combine antiquarian research into historical and national costume with highly fictionalised historical events such as *The Death of Regent Murray*, which was influenced by Scott's poem *Cadyow Castle* from *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*

²²⁴ Peter Garside, "Picturesque figure and landscape: Meg Merrilies and the gypsies," *Politics of the Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.156.

²²⁵ Susan Manning, "Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, and the Emergence of Modern Disciplinarity," *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 63.

(1803), and *Jeanie Deans's Interview with her Father*.²²⁶ Antiquarian authenticity of costume and character combine with fictionalised historical narrative to create their own myth of national history. Scott felt that English artists did not have the sufficient cultural and national background to appreciate this divide between antiquarian authenticity and artistic license in his representation of Scottish history.

However, he had few such problems with his countryman Allan as his illustrator. Allan's knowledge and research into costume in his historical paintings were painstaking, relying on old descriptions, contemporary portraits, and antiquarian research into the subjects, including that of Scott's. This was not necessarily a radical approach to historical imagery: Sam Smiles, in *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain 1770-1830* describes the popular market for costume books, illustrated publications produced for budding, amateur antiquarians that recorded the dress and fashions of contemporary working classes and historical costumes. These publications, at their height in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, were targeted at a middle-class audience as a form of coffee-table entertainment. They did, however, have scholarly aspirations:

... in their investigation of the social realm the compilers of costume books shared with antiquarians a similar wish to collect and organize information, albeit social as opposed to material. The collecting of historic costumes might be seen as an extension of the antiquarian impulse to make visual sense of the pre-modern record, and some well-respected and influential books were produced which did just that...²²⁷

Scott's specific descriptions of his characters' dress were rooted in this antiquarian concern with historical authenticity. Allan similarly was working in an already established medium of popular culture: just as Nasmyth had incorporated the visual discourse and motifs of tourist journals and pamphlets into his landscape illustrations of Scott, Allan incorporated the discourse of the costume book and applied it to the illustration of fictional narrative. Allan and Nasmyth were therefore working within the parameters of an established, popular, commercial culture, absorbing and redefining the motifs of middle-class visual culture and applying them to the first Waverley illustrations. Like Scott, they knew their market, and used the established,

²²⁶ Although the murder of the Regent Murray in 1570 was an historical event, Allan's use of Scott's poem as a source for the painting allowed him to include several characters who were not actually present during the incident, including John Knox and the Earl of Morton.

²²⁷ Sam Smiles, *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain 1770-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), p. 77.

popular visual media of travel literature and costume books to create a visual approximation of Scott's historical narratives.

Scott, Constable and Allan: author, publisher, illustrator.

Scott's own involvement in this repackaging of popular visual culture is implied through the correspondence passing between Constable and his partners in London, Hurst, Robinson & Co., and his irritation at illustrators whom he felt were misrepresenting his work. His jibes at English artists like Kidd, Westall and Turner who misunderstood the use of tartan and the kilt also hint at the emphasis he placed on the authenticity of costume: this was a scholarly, as well as an artistic, exercise for him, the illustrations should follow the example of his novels and not only entertain, but instruct. He betrays in his letters and his attitudes to illustration an antiquarian concern with the taxonomic organisation of costume and historical character types. Despite this, however, Scott and Constable saw illustration as commercial exercise: while Scott wanted close control over what was produced in his name, he understood that illustration would only increase the value of the novels in the marketplace, a fact almost certainly planted by Constable following the fruitful illustration of his poetry in London for several years.

Unpublished correspondence between Constable and his London partners Hurst Robinson & Co. sheds a great deal of light not only on the relationship of author, publisher, artist and engravers, but onto Allan's own working practices, Scott's subtle, anonymous influence over the proceedings, and the reasons behind the ultimate failure of the project to illustrate a collected edition as originally planned. According to the Scott bibliography compiled by William Todd and Ann Bowden, Allan had been commissioned to illustrate the first collected edition of Scott's works, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, which appeared in 1819.²²⁸ For a variety of reasons, some of which come through in Constable's correspondence, this projected plan never came about, and it was Nasmyth who would eventually illustrate the 1821 edition. Nonetheless, Constable's desire to illustrate Scott for the first time is in keeping with his efforts around this period to repackage Scott for a wider market. Not only did he

²²⁸ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History 1796-1832*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 772.

willingly accept Scott's help in acquiring Allan's services as an illustrator, he was keen to illustrate *Ivanhoe* (1820) which was in production at the same time. Jane Millgate describes how Constable, Scott and his printer James Ballantyne were determined, with the change of subject matter from Scottish to English, to alter and refresh the physical presentation of the new novel, and it is clear from Constable's correspondence with Hurst, Robinson & Co. that illustration was part of this scheme.²²⁹ For example, Constable writes in a letter of 28 December 1819: "Ivanhoe promises to be one of the Authors most popular productions—we shall be glad to have three or four sets of proofs of the illustrations that we may present one or two of them to the Author of the work."²³⁰ The plan was to make the new novel as handsome as possible, with luxurious paper and new type setting: for various reasons, including problems with suppliers and the financial realities of using such exclusive material, the three men had to compromise, and the illustrations did not appear in the first edition.

The problems Constable encountered with the illustrations to *Ivanhoe* appear to correlate almost exactly with those he encountered with Allan's illustrations. Images which were produced in Edinburgh had to be sent to London to be engraved, due to the London partners' experience in this field and the availability, as they saw it, of a higher quality of engraver available to them than existed in Edinburgh at the time (although the reviewer in the *Edinburgh Monthly Review* clearly disagrees with this assertion). The problem was that the engravers did not work quickly, and certainly not to Constable's timetable: he constantly reminds his partners of the urgency required to have them available for publication. Constable had spent almost a year trying in vain to obtain final proofs of Allan's illustrations, the first drawings of which he sent on 7 May 1819, and he had initially planned the illustrations to be published with the *Novels and Tales* in November that year. Finally, with exasperation, he writes on 28 June 1820:

Dear Sirs, We write now as to—Allans Illustrations—our part, that is, the vignette, may be considered as done—we hope in a very few days to send you the copper—what are you about with the body of the Work?... Engravers are the most teasing of all teasing people, and must in some degree be submitted to—but in this case they have all of them had abundance of time—you have had the last of the drawings for five months—do try to set this matter right—

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²²⁹ Jane Millgate, "Making it New: Scott, Constable, Ballantyne, and the Publication of *Ivanhoe*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 34, no.4 (1994): p.795.

²³⁰ NLS MS.790. ff.718.

²³¹ NLS MS.23619, ff.63.

The vignette mentioned here was in fact the title page to the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, a depiction of Scott's fictional story-teller, Peter Pattieson, talking to Old Mortality, engraved by the Edinburgh artist William Home Lizars.

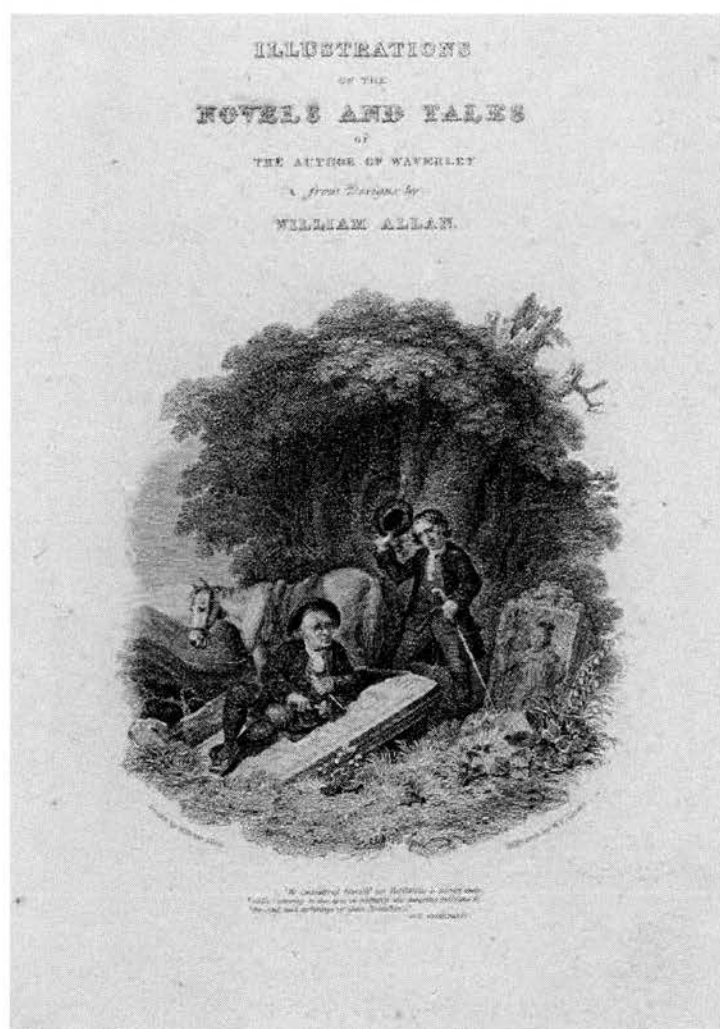


Fig. 17: William Allan, title page to *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1820)

The rest, twelve in all, were completed in London by a variety of engravers. The decision to use several different engravers was taken at Constable's suggestion. The original intention was to have all the illustrations engraved by Charles Heath who had engraved Westall's illustrations, but Constable wanted to expand this operation. He outlined his concerns in a letter of 19 May 1819:

... after a consultation with the painter [Allan], we now enclose the size that we wish them to be.... Be so good as put the drawings in hand without any

delays.—Mr Heath is certainly a person of great name and respectability but would not his name to all, look too flat in the way of announcement &c.—
The Illustrations to *Don Quixote* are done by

C Warren
E. Engleheart
W. Finden
R. Golding
R. Raimbach

Could one or two plates not be had from some of these?²³²

Constable later insisted on this variety of engravers, writing on 12 June: “We have to beg that they are put into the Engravers’ hands with all dispatch; and to keep in view the various *names* we spoke of in one of our former letters—a variety of Engravers names is very essential, in order to please the Public—and to fix an advertisement”.²³³ These letters demonstrate Constable’s grasp of the commercial advantages to be gained from a range of illustration: employing the artists who illustrated *Don Quixote* would connect Cervantes’s name with Scott’s in the reading-public’s imagination, just as using Westall had connected the Waverley novels with Boydell’s edition of Shakespeare, on which the artist had worked. Using several well known artists, as opposed to one, would elevate the public perception and broaden the commercial appeal of Scott as an important writer in the marketplace.

The letters also outline the role that Allan had in the operation. Allan was consulted by Constable, and it becomes increasingly clear that Scott himself was advising Allan personally on certain aspects of the pictures. In the same letter, Constable writes:

We have also to mention—and when you look with attention at these admirable drawings, and more particularly at the exquisite characters of the Black Dwarf and Burley—you will agree with us in impressing upon the Engravers the necessity of keeping to the *feeling* of the Painter—he is particularly anxious about this himself—and it is the decided opinion of all who have seen them some of them no mean judges—that it is indispensable to retain the features as accurately as possible.²³⁴

The reference to “no mean judges” here almost certainly refers to Scott. This hypothesis is strengthened by a letter of 18 February 1820 in which Constable asks yet again for a copy of the proofs, in order to “enable us with the assistance of the Author

²³² NLS MS.790, ff. 495.

²³³ NLS MS.790, ff. 528.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

and artist to fix good titles for them".²³⁵ This confirms that artist, publisher and author were working together to create the first visualisations of Scott's novels. It also confirms the fact that Allan was in the unusual position of being privy to the secret of the authorship of the Waverley novels.

The delays in completing the proofs were not all due to the slow progress of the engravers. Unpublished letters from Allan to Constable demonstrate Allan's attention to detail, and his unhappiness with the quality of work that the engravers were doing. Of all the London engravers, Romney seems to have pleased him the most, but in a letter of 8 December 1819 he wrote to Constable to complain about the engraving of *The Fight in the Public House in the Clachan of Aberfoil* from *Rob Roy*:

I think upon the whole, the general effect is good, and much better done than those by Engleheart.—I should like if Mr. Romney would look over the heads, they appear to me to want character, particularly, the two in the foreground, the Highland figure blowing his hand, the face is rather small, and not seemingly blowing strong enough, his legs are a little too thick, and the muscles require stronger marking.—Bailie Jarvie's feet are rather too small, and the hands in general too white.—I have worked a little on the Engraving, which Mr. R. will perceive when compared with another impression.²³⁶

By now the project was already well behind schedule, and this was only one of the twelve illustrations under the engravers' burins. It is quite probable that Scott was giving his advice to Allan which was then being forwarded on to London via Constable – although there is no correspondence between Scott and Allan about these illustrations, their frequent meetings in Edinburgh would have provided ample opportunity to discuss the pictures. All in all it was a protracted process which Constable, in between illnesses, found taxing, and which ultimately proved to be too laborious to bring to fruition. Writing to Hurst, Robinson and Co., Constable articulates his frustration with the engravers and Allan's own progress in producing the drawings, and it would appear that the decision not to publish these engravings with any edition of the novels was taken in September 1820:

Allan's Illustrations Your doings in this are no doubt most judicious—you are so well versed in the subject. We shall think on the 12mo size—we would wish about a dozen of the best proofs for especial friends—and

²³⁵ NLS MS.23619.

²³⁶ NLS MS.668, f. 122.

among them the great unknown—but without letters will do. No one here has taste for that kind at the price they will likely bear—²³⁷

The prognosis was correct, the final volume, *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, was expensive, priced for the 12mo at 24s, and the 8vo at £1.11.6, (almost as expensive as the Waverley novels themselves at this time) and Constable's despair not only at this failure, but also at the failure to have *Ivanhoe* suitably illustrated by its publication date, can be clearly discerned from the tone of his correspondence.

Importantly, these letters sketch the personal involvement Scott took in the actual process of illustration. This involvement has been largely overlooked, with the exception of Francis Russell who points out that "Scott's interest was proved by the fact that the sketches were returned with endorsements in his hand, which betrayed his authorship of the novels to Allan".²³⁸ The precedent for his authorial control over the illustration process was set in his 1803 letter to Masquerier when writing about the proposed frontispiece to the *Lay*:

I think the introduction of the Dutchess daughter a very happy thought & shall be anxious to see the frontispiece previous to the engraving as any little criticism which may occur may be then made with more profit.²³⁹

This was clearly the process Scott followed with Allan for the *Illustrations*, and to a lesser extent throughout the rest of his life: sketches, preliminary drawings and early engravings were passed on to him for approval before going to press. His comments about Kidd's portrayal of Rob Roy, his advice on the landscape illustrations to Nasmyth concerning the *Novels and Tales* and his criticisms of Westall's illustrations all point to the fact that the illustrations were being looked over personally by Scott himself before publication. Only Allan's illustrations, however, seem to have come under his personal guidance from conception to publication, and it is interesting to note how his novels around this period allude to the possibility of illustration by an artist like Allan or Wilkie. Hints are given in the texts that Scott was aware of the power of illustration in the marketplace, and in two novels in particular approach the subject directly, *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *St Ronan's Well*.

²³⁷ NLS MS.23619, f. 95.

²³⁸ Francis Russell, *Portraits of Sir Walter Scott, A Study in Romantic Portraiture*, (London: White Brothers, 1987), p. 14.

²³⁹ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 12:379.

Dick Tinto and William Allan

If 1819 marks the beginning of the official involvement of Allan as the illustrator of the Waverley novels in Scotland, it was also the year in which Scott introduced a new character into the editorial framework of the *Tales of My Landlord*, the artist and sign-painter Dick Tinto. This chapter ends by contending that there is a significant link between Allan and Tinto, and that Tinto's introduction into the third series of the *Tales of My Landlord*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, provides an important insight into his own understanding of the union of text and image at precisely the time that he had initiated the illustration of his own novels. According to J. H. Alexander, Scott wrote *The Bride of Lammermoor* between September 1818 and early May 1819; meanwhile Allan had begun work on the *Illustrations*, as confirmed by Scott's letter to the Duke of Buccleuch in April 1819, quoted above. The timing of the creation of Dick Tinto, a prospective illustrator to the collected stories of Peter Pattieson, falls conveniently into the exact period in which Scott was personally involved in the illustration process: moreover, Tinto's story and struggle for patronage in Edinburgh and then London are remarkably close to Allan's own search for financial and artistic freedom.

Allan is not mentioned by name in this introduction, so any argument made about the real identity of Dick Tinto must be conjectural, particularly given the lack of corroborative evidence, but Allan is the most obvious candidate, especially given the timing of the writing of this novel. Scott also takes this chance to satirise the commercial art market: Tinto seems to be an object of real sympathy, as Pattieson (through Cleishbotham) writes "Were there not a hundred similar instances on record, the fate of my poor friend and school-fellow, Dick Tinto, would be sufficient to warn me against seeking happiness, in the celebrity which attaches itself to the successful cultivator of the fine arts."²⁴⁰ Pattieson briefly charts the progress of Tinto's career: having started out as a sign-painter for public houses, his talents outgrew this perfunctory trade and he began to take commissions for portraits of local people, which fed him for a while and made him popular in the small rural community. Once these commissions dried up, he found himself heading to Edinburgh in search of patronage. Scott's comments here are revealing, given the trouble he was encountering in trying to find patronage for Allan in Edinburgh:

²⁴⁰ Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. J. H. Alexander (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 4.

In Edinburgh, Dick's talents were discovered and appreciated, and he received dinners and hints from several distinguished judges of the fine arts. But these gentlemen dispensed their criticism more willingly than their cash, and Dick thought he needed cash more than criticism. He therefore sought London, the universal mart of talent, and where, as is usual in general marts of most descriptions, much more of the commodity is exposed to sale than can ever find purchasers.²⁴¹

Allan's own progress away from Edinburgh to Eastern Europe via London are mirrored here, and for similar reasons. Scott's vocabulary in this passage reveals much about the stifling of an artistic talent in the modern marketplace: "mart of talent", "cash" and "commodity" all underline the mercenary process by which the financial centres sucked the spirit and confined the artistic impulse of men like Tinto, and indeed Allan, who worked more as tradesmen than artists. Tinto fades away and dies in the anonymity of London, his death marked only by a notice in the "corner of the Morning Post". The final cruel irony for Tinto is that his death marks an upturn in his appeal in the marketplace, as an advertisement:

...announced that Mr Varnish, the well-known print-seller, had still on hand a very few drawings and paintings by Richard Tinto, Esquire, which those of the nobility and gentry, who might wish to complete their collections of modern art, were invited to visit without delay. So ended Dick Tinto, a lamentable proof of the great truth, that in the fine arts mediocrity is not permitted, and that he who cannot ascend to the very top of the ladder will do well not to put his foot upon it at all.²⁴²

It seems that the only real value of his "sketchy" work lies in its scarcity now the artist has died, and in their existence as desirable, fashionable objects which form part of a set: like the antiquarian object whose market value is inversely proportionate to its scarcity, Tinto's works gain value through their status as rare oddities.²⁴³ This morality tale seems to take Allan's own predicament as an artist without patronage to its tragic conclusion. The artist's inclinations and talents are moulded and corrupted by market forces: Scott felt that he could guide Allan away from this fate, and in fact did so. His mention of Allan in *The Heart of Midlothian* in 1818 was followed by the commission for the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, the sale of *The Circassian Captives*

²⁴¹ Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. 9.

²⁴² Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. 10.

²⁴³ Yoon Sun Lee, in her article "A Divided Inheritance: Scott's Antiquarian Novel and the British Nation", makes the connection between the values of antiquarianism and the marketplace. "Scott's antiquarianism is constituted by the principle of scarcity: fragments, traces and inscriptions become collectible, valuable, and seductively indecipherable in one and the same process of obliteration. The pricelessness of antiquarian relics was not inherent but obviously contingent on the interplay between scarcity and demand." *ELH* (John Hopkins University Press, 1997) p. 540.

through to the illustration of the *Tales of a Grandfather* in 1828, illustrations for the *Magnum* edition of the novels and finally the illustration of Lockhart's *Life* in 1834.

Other aspects of Tinto's life point to Allan as the model, including his time as a portrait painter, a trade which Scott felt demeaned his natural talent. Writing to Lord Montagu in 1822, he wrote that "Allan is not in the ordinary habit of painting portraits nor should I much wish as he is really a rising historical painter and I should be sorry to see him seduced into the lucrative branch which carries off all artists of that description".²⁴⁴ This sentiment is echoed in reference to Tinto, who "had recourse, like his brethren, to levying that tax upon the vanity of mankind which he could not extract from their taste and liberality—in a word, he painted portraits."²⁴⁵ This is not so much an attack on the artist as on the market and the state of modern patronage, which was not concerned so much with worthier subjects such as history than with images of themselves. The artist can only work to a market, leaving no space for personal development: illustration to his novels would provide Allan with the potential to develop beyond the stultifying grind of professional portraiture, as Wilkie had managed to do. In fact, Wilkie is mentioned as the reason Tinto chose to try and develop his own skills:

It would be foreign to my present purpose to trace the steps by which Dick Tinto improved his touch, and corrected, by the rules of art, the luxuriance of a fervid imagination. The scales fell from his eyes on viewing the sketches of a contemporary, the Scottish Teniers, as Wilkie has been deservedly styled.²⁴⁶

It must be more than coincidence that Tinto's inspiration in changing his approach to painting so closely reflects that of Allan, whose reunion with his old friend Wilkie in 1817 is partly credited with Allan's turn to Scottish subject matter. In any case, Scott is unequivocal about the type of artist he appreciated, about his attitudes to the effects of artistic patronage and the stifling marketplace it created.

²⁴⁴ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols. 7:109.

²⁴⁵ Walter Scott *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. 6.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Tinto and Pattieson: book-illustration

The introduction to *The Bride of Lammermoor* then goes on to discuss the union of text and image in book illustration. An illustrated edition is actually proposed by Tinto to Peter Pattieson, and a discussion takes place that weighs the narrative merits of literature and painting against each other. Frederick Burwick has argued that Scott here lifts the debate over literature versus the visual arts “out of its usual binary opposition by invoking theatricality and the verbal-visual synthesis of dramatic performance”.²⁴⁷ He asserts that Scott’s argument takes the nineteenth-century presumption that the visual arts are primarily spatial, the verbal arts primarily temporal, and that the union of the two leads inevitably to a discussion of theatrical devices: however, it also leads to a consideration of the illustrated text, a preoccupation of Scott’s during this time. *The Bride of Lammermoor* is a type of illustrated text, albeit without an actual illustration for the first edition – Tinto’s sketch of an “ancient hall” provides the foundation for the subsequent novel, which attempts to provide the explanatory context of the drawing. Pattieson’s would-be illustrator argues for the superiority of image over text as a narrative medium, yet the existence of the novel provides evidence that an image requires verbal or literary context to be understood.

The Pattieson-Tinto interaction seems to place text over image as a narrative form, suggesting that an historical painting or scene is almost indecipherable without a supporting textual explanation. Tinto argues that “Description... was to the author of a romance exactly what drawing and tinting were to a painter; words were his colours, and, if properly employed, they could not fail to place the scene, which he wished to conjure up, as effectually before the mind’s eye, as the tablet or canvas presents it to the bodily organ.”²⁴⁸ He produces the sketch on which the novel is then constructed: the sketch depicts the climactic scene of the novel which takes place finally in chapter thirty-three, a fact which seems to prove the point initially made by Pattieson:

... I protest to you, Dick, that were I permitted to peep into that Elizabeth-chamber, and see the persons whom you have sketched conversing in flesh and blood, I should not be a jot nearer guessing the nature of their business, than I am at this moment while looking at your sketch.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Frederick Burwick, ““Competing Histories in the Waverley Novels,” *European Romantic Review* 13 (2002): p. 264.

²⁴⁸ Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. 11.

²⁴⁹ Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. 13.

The novel, we are told, is based on the notes Tinto then produced to explain the context of his painting. Therefore, Pattieson's narrative is actually based on an image which is taken from "a manuscript" of both sketches and written notes. The source of the story, we are told, is "a parcel of loose scraps, partly scratched over with his pencil, partly with his pen, where outlines of caricatures, sketches of turrets, mills, old gables, and dove-cotes, disputed the ground with his written memoranda". Tinto's proposed plan for his sketch is a history painting, "fourteen feet by eight", but what results from the sketch is not a painting but the novel: in this way, the spatial dimensions of the image combine with the temporal dimensions of the narrative in a crude form of illustrated text. Image and text become mutually illustrative, although Pattieson makes it clear that while the text can survive by itself, the image relies on narrative context to be fully understood. This is the point Scott is making at precisely the time that he, Constable and Allan are collaborating on the first illustrations to his novels, as if he is asserting the fact that without his text, any illustration is meaningless.

The subject of book-illustration resurfaces again five years later in *St Ronan's Well* (1824), as does Dick Tinto. There is a more satirical slant to the subject here however. Francis Tyrell, the hero of the novel, is an artist staying in the countryside for inspiration. His landlady, Meg Dods, is not impressed by the sketches he produces from his walks in the countryside:

Tyrrel's painting, as Meg called it, went on equally slowly: He often, indeed, shewed her the sketches which he brought from his walks, and used to finish at home; but Meg held them very cheap. What signified, she said, a wheen scrapes of paper, wi' black and white skarts upon them, that he ca'd bushes, and trees, and craigs!—Couldna he paint them wi' green, and blue, and yellow, like the other folk? "Ye will never mak your bread that way, Maister Frauncie. Ye suld munt up a muckle square of canvas, like Dick Tinto, and paint folks ainsells, that they like muckle better to see than ony craig in the hail water..."²⁵⁰

Meg does not understand the visual discourse of modern art; the quick spontaneous sketches mean little to her. This art serves no function like the portrait or sign-painting trade of Dick Tinto, and she cannot understand the attraction of the picturesque landscape for the parties of "wheen sketching souls" who visit from the city. However, this same sketch becomes an invaluable item when Tyrell hints to her that such works often prove to be more valuable to collectors than finished paintings,

²⁵⁰ Walter Scott, *St Ronan's Well*, p. 24-25.

and that “they were often taken for the purpose of illustrating popular poems”. Put into this context for Meg, the same sketch takes on a whole new value, primarily monetary, as does Tyrell himself. While Tyrell at no point says that he is an illustrator, nor a poet, word quickly goes round the community that he is an “illustrated poet”. His personal stock rises exponentially, and it is from this misunderstanding that he is invited into and courted by the pretentious rural middle-class society of Lady Penelope. Tyrell’s artistic talents accidentally become intrinsically linked with the fashionable and lucrative trade of book-illustration, and his work becomes valued accordingly, being fought over and even stolen by Lady Penelope’s associates. This is the same image which Meg initially dismisses next to the artisan work of Tinto, and highlights the fashionable position that book illustration, and illustrators, were beginning to take in middle-class society of the period. Again, it is not the artist who is satirised but the market, as if the illustration of books is the benchmark of cultural and social integrity for an artist who is actually struggling to make a living.

Scott’s and Constable’s sponsorship of Allan ironically catapulted him into this desirable status of book-illustrator. The creation of Tinto, the allusions to book-illustration in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *St Ronan’s Well*, Scott’s and Constable’s attempts to repackage the novel through illustration and a new physical presentation for a wider audience, and the participation of Allan in this process, point to the fact that Scott was conscious of the potential for illustration of his own novels. His generous promotion of Allan through the popularity of his own work underlines the assertion that, far from being indifferent or averse to illustration, he was keen to find an illustrator whom he felt shared his own antiquarian concerns and his desire to create a Scottish national history for an expanding, middle-class literary market. This theory is supported by his constant irritation with English artists like Masquerier and Westall, by his admiration for Wilkie, and by the concurrent employment of Nasmyth on the landscape illustrations of *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*.

Allan’s *Illustrations* had a wider significance for history painting in Scotland: his interaction with Scott and the Waverley novels breathed a new life into his representations of the national-historical subject, as demonstrated by *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*. An antiquarian interest in historical costume was combined with the desire to represent an historical moment as a real, lived experience: this is seen particularly in his paintings from the 1820s of Mary Queen of Scots, inspiration for

which came largely from *The Abbot* (1820) and the subsequent market for paintings of this period in Scottish history. Scott's influence over Allan's career from 1818 was to shape history painting in Scotland in the nineteenth century, as artists began to create the visual counterpart to the Scottish national history generated in the public consciousness by the Waverley novels. The *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* was the first step in this process, book illustration providing the point at which history painting and the novel converge to create a new, national-historical identity for Scotland in the wake of a homogenizing British patriotism. Allan's position as the first author-approved illustrator of the Waverley novels is crucial to this process, and it started him on the road to financial security and a career path which would eventually see him elected the President of the Royal Academy.

Section IV

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to catalogue and provide historical context for the first illustrations of the Waverley novels in Scotland. It has sought to reposition Constable, Cadell, Scott and Edinburgh within the context of an important period of publishing history in the early nineteenth century, and to address the contributions made by the Waverley novels to the more celebrated illustrated fiction of the 1830s and 1840s. An examination of Scott's engagement with the illustration of his fiction opens up questions of the increasing reciprocity between literature and the visual arts at a time when history painting, in particular, was struggling to distance itself from its late eighteenth-century neoclassical model. Thackeray described such traditional history paintings, so popular at the end of the eighteenth century, as "pieces of canvas from twelve to thirty feet long, representing for the most part personages who never existed, ... performing actions that never occurred, and dressed in costumes they never could have worn".²⁵¹ Scott's most obvious impact on history painting was to change precisely this approach to the historical subject. As the discussion of Alexander Nasmyth's and William Allan's illustrations to the Waverley novels argued, Scott's evocation of, and concentration on, the indigenous life of normal people during periods of historical upheaval or significance focussed the artist's attention on observational aspects of costume, architecture, landscape, character-types, domestic interiors and customs. In essence, Scott's novels became the media through which artists could conflate contemporary genre scenes, as propounded by the work of David Wilkie, with the historical subject. For this reason, Allan's and Nasmyth's illustrations become crucial in understanding how Scott influenced almost a century of Scottish history and landscape painting. The book-illustrations of the Waverley novels provide the point at which painting and literature first engaged to create a new visual discourse for the expression of the historical moment in painting, as exemplified in Allan's *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor, 1679*.

A major achievement, indeed, a major intention, of the Waverley illustrations, was to create a historical discourse in the visual medium which was specifically Scottish. Scott's promotion of Allan, in particular, underlined his desire to promote an oeuvre which addressed the idiosyncrasies of a Scottish history and its people, in all its

²⁵¹ Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), p. 61.

various forms and divisions. Illustration served for Scott a documentary function which would act as a powerful subsidiary to the written text he was producing. The visual media, properly supervised, in combination with popular literature, created a potent cultural framework from which a national-historical identity could be created in the popular consciousness, in resistance to the homogenising British identity which was being constructed through imperial conquest and trade. Nasmyth and Allan, Scott's first illustrators in Scotland, worked with the author to create visual templates which influenced a generation of literary and history painters, and their importance, particularly Nasmyth's, has been largely overlooked. Nasmyth's landscape illustrations were the first to combine the specificity of Scottish topography and architecture within their historical contexts. His illustrations mark the point at which the visual discourse of the illustrated travel guides of the early nineteenth century combined with the historicity of Scott's subject matter in his Scottish novels, beginning with his theatre-set designs and book-illustrations for *The Heart of Midlothian*. Allan and Nasmyth, significant artists in their own right, were moulded through the influence of Scott's literature into the first Scottish national-historical painters of the nineteenth century, documenting their country, its landscape, its people and its history with the antiquarian desire to record and enshrine specific traits of life as it was lived in Scotland at different points in history.

The illustrations to the Waverley novels are important for other reasons, however. For example, a close examination of the genesis and development of the illustrations tells us a great deal about Scott's own attitudes towards the visual media, and more significantly, towards popular culture. This thesis has sought to redress the assumption that Scott was "indifferent to art", and that he was purely interested in illustration for the financial benefits it brought with it. There is extensive evidence not only of Scott's knowledge and understanding of contemporary painting and illustrated literature, but also of his willingness, even complicity, in procuring illustration of his work where he felt it was appropriate and suitable. This evidence can be found in his correspondence with various artists throughout his career, artists who were looking for advice on aspects of costume or antiquarian objects for paintings which were to illustrate his work; it can be found in Constable's correspondence with both Allan and Nasmyth during the period in which they were involved in producing the first novel illustrations, and in his

correspondence with his London partners in which he alludes to “no mean judges”;²⁵² and, perhaps most significantly, it can be found in the fabric of his own fiction. Scott’s references to artists and paintings in his novels are well documented. However, his references to the illustration of his work, as demonstrated in “The Death of the Laird’s Jock” for the *Keepsake of 1829*, provide firm evidence that Scott was well aware of the potential of his work for illustration. The key factor in understanding Scott’s attitude to the illustration of his novels and poetry was authorial control. If he was to be illustrated at all, he wanted to be illustrated by artists who understood and sympathised with those national-historical aspects within his work which he felt it was important to document. For this reason he tended towards those artists who shared his interests in national-historical costumes, antiquarian objects, architecture and landscape. Artists who failed to express such concerns in their illustrations (usually, though not exclusively, English artists) met with indifference, an indifference which has traditionally been interpreted as a wider indifference to the visual arts and illustration in general. However, Scott’s engagement with various forms of illustrated literature, from the very beginning of his literary career in 1803, to his last publication, the *Magnum Opus*, provide firm evidence of his professional and artistic interests in the visual supplement to the written word.

This engagement would have been problematic to many of Scott’s literary contemporaries, had they been aware of how fully he was participating in the mechanics of illustrated literature. The illustrated Waverley novels were the product of the latest technologies available to his publishers, designed to appeal to a much broader market than ever before, reducing the cultural value of the novel (in the eyes of Hazlitt, for example) for material gain – a most un-Romantic notion. They signal a deliberate engagement with popular culture, and a move away from traditional novel-buying readerships towards a broader cross-section of society which could previously only have hired such works through the circulating libraries. Scott and his publishers demonstrated time and again their desire to explore every avenue open to them in selling their stock; the illustrated Waverley novels represent an important moment in the history of publishing and book-selling, as both Constable and Cadell were experimenting and innovating within a developing climate of mass-production. The illustrated Waverley novels are an expression of the confidence of a city which was re-defining itself in the modern era, and the product of Scotland’s engagement with

²⁵² NLS MS.790, ff. 528, dated 12 June 1819, from Constable to his London partners Hurst Robinson & Co., regarding Allan’s illustrations for the *Novels and Tales*.

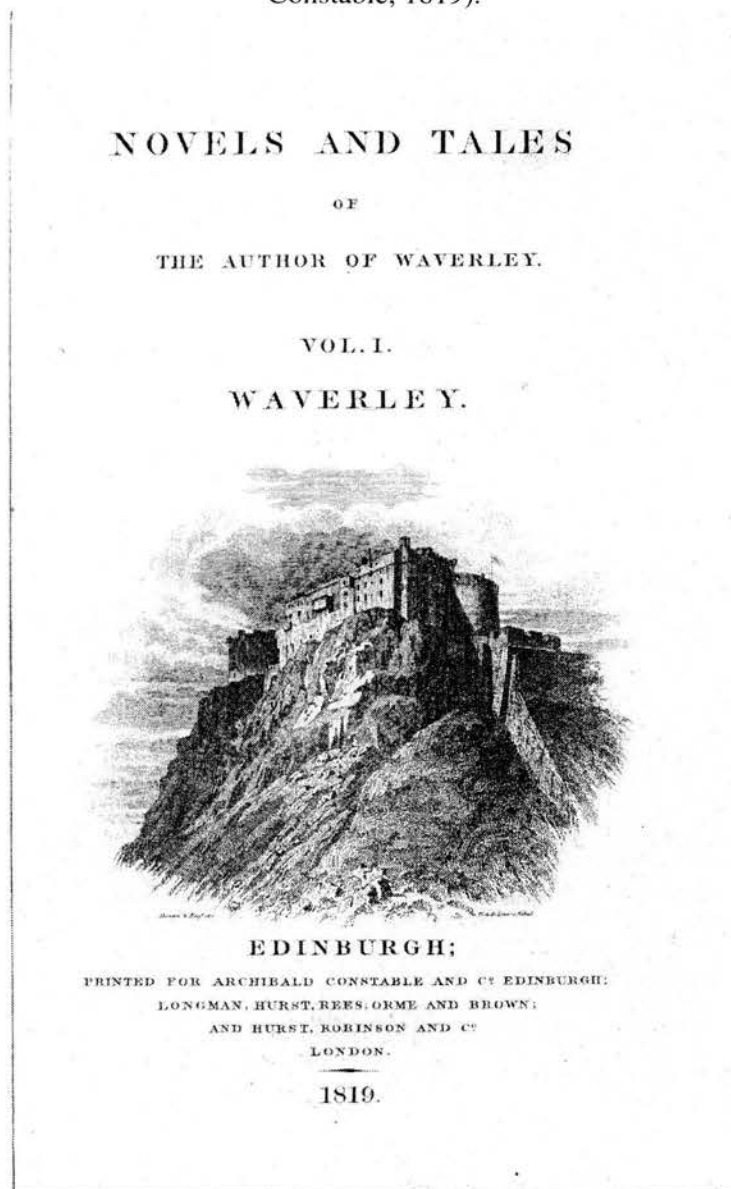
modernity and technology. While the novels themselves seek to enshrine a Scottish historical identity and to hold back the overwhelming effects of British nationalism, as objects they simultaneously represent a modern Scotland very divorced from this past.

Scott and Constable have not received the credit due to them in paving the way for the industry of illustrated fiction during the nineteenth century. Scott's complicity in illustrating his novels, in Scotland at least, allowed him to develop a visual discourse which would reflect the major concerns of his work. There were, indeed, major financial considerations in lowering the costs of his novels and making them more attractive to a broader, more popular market through the use of illustration, but this was not necessarily the defining reason behind the decision to illustrate the novels. Scott had legitimate artistic concerns in combining text with image, and his experience and understanding of the markets in which he was operating allowed him invaluable insights into precisely how his work could be illustrated to the greatest effect. And while Cadell has rightly received recognition and praise for his publication of the *Magnum*, Constable must be duly acknowledged with the conception of the illustrated Waverley anthology which laid the groundwork for Cadell's success. Due to the technologies and new products available to him at the end of the 1820s, Cadell was able to succeed where Constable met with only limited success. Scott and Constable can now be fully implicated in the conception of a new type of publication in the early nineteenth century: the affordable, illustrated popular novel.

Catalogue

Plate 1

Walter Scott, *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1819).



Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*

Title: "Edinburgh Castle"

Artist: William Home Lizars

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Catalogue

Introduction

This section constitutes the first comprehensive catalogue of all the illustrations produced for the Waverley novels for those publications produced during Scott's lifetime, on the instigation of his Scottish publishers. Having defined this rationale, this catalogue therefore comes to represent all those illustrations which Scott personally authorised and proofed for his own work, as distinct from the hundreds of subsequent illustrations which began to appear following his death. With this in mind, this catalogue allows us to understand how Scott helped to engender the generic forms of illustration which came to represent his work throughout the 1830s, with particular regard to landscape and narrative illustration. The illustrations reproduced here, with Scott's personal involvement, provide a clear template for subsequent generations of Waverley illustrators, and helped to establish the generic models for Waverley illustration throughout the nineteenth century. These genres focussed on topography and on antiquarian aspects of national-historical costume, domestic interior, architecture and characters. This body of work, therefore, represents Scott's influence on how the Waverley novels came to be illustrated, the establishment of the generic forms of Waverley illustration which were popularised through the various reprint editions of his novels in the 1820s, and which were then exploited by London-based publishers in the 1830s and 40s. This catalogue of illustrations published with Scott's cooperation is an important tool in examining precisely what the author valued in illustration of his work, and in evaluating those generic forms of illustration which he and his illustrators helped to engender through the early collected, reprint editions of the Waverley novels.

In focussing on purely Scottish-based and commissioned illustration, any additional London illustrations which did *not* appear in their Edinburgh counterparts have been omitted; for example, frontispieces produced for the third, 18mo edition of the *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley* in London by Hurst, Robinson & Co., which complemented the Scottish illustrations by Alexander Nasmyth, have not been included. The last images produced for the 1833 instalments of the *Magnum Opus*, the year after Scott's death, are included, however, as they form the final part of a work which was commissioned during Scott's lifetime by Robert Cadell, in cooperation with Scott himself. They are also illustrations which Scott would probably have seen

and approved at the proofing stage before his death in September 1832. Although many of the illustrations reproduced here were published in London by various firms, including Hurst, Robinson and Co. or Longman, Rees, Orme, Hurst and Brown, they were all commissioned as part of projects conceived and orchestrated from Edinburgh by either Archibald Constable or Cadell, a fact which directly implicates Scott in the planning and production phases of publication. The illustrations have been reproduced chronologically, and separated sequentially by the publications in which they appeared.

Each entry includes the title of the Waverley novel to which it pertains, and the title as given *on* the illustration, including the extended subheadings included by the publishers from the relevant parts of the novels which the illustrations describe. Where the title of the illustration is uncertain, William Todd's and Ann Bowden's *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History, 1796-1832* has been referred to for a suitable title. For example, J. Ewbank's illustrations for the second 1827 edition of the *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley*, appear without any titles in the original published form: Todd's and Bowden's bibliography has provided the titles in this instance. Each illustration also includes the name of the artist and the engraver, as they appear on the illustration itself.

Where possible, the illustrations have been visually reproduced. This has been achievable for all the publications in question between 1819, the appearance of the first illustration for the Waverley novels by W. H. Lizars, through to the final illustrations for the *Magnum Opus* in 1833 for the *Surgeon's Daughter*. The only illustrations not represented visually are those produced for the third, 180 edition of the *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley*, published in 1827 in seven volumes. Todd and Bowden state that this edition was the only one of its kind to produce entirely new illustrations to those included in the first two editions by Ewbank. Otherwise, this is the first visual record of the illustrations of the Waverley novels to appear for an Edinburgh readership during Scott's lifetime, and a complete catalogue of those illustrations with which the author himself was personally involved in commissioning.

Section 1

William Allan, *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley from Designs by William Allan*

(Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., and London: Hurst Robinson & Co., 1820)

In 1819, Archibald Constable, under Scott's advice, commissioned a suite of illustrations from the Scottish history painter William Allan, which were originally meant to be bound into the first ever collected edition of the Waverley novels, the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. These illustrations were the first illustrations to be commissioned by Scott's publisher in Edinburgh, even though they did not actually materialise in the marketplace until December 1820, having failed to meet the original deadline. Instead, they were published in a separate, supplemental edition called the *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*; the illustrations were meant to be extracted from this publication, and bound by the individual reader into their copy of the novels, following instructions provided. Despite the fact they were not published *with* the novels, these illustrations are important as they mark the first images to be produced for the Waverley novels in Scotland under the personal guidance of the author himself. They therefore mark a moment of conception in publishing history in Edinburgh, the conception of the illustrated Waverley novel, for which Scott and Constable must take credit.

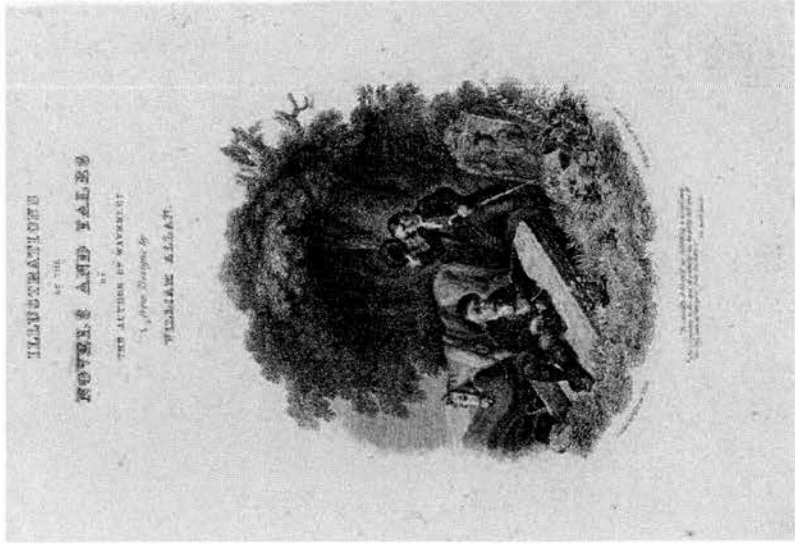
The *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales* was published in four states: the 12o at 24s; the 8o at £1.11.6; the 4o India paper proofs at £2.12.6; and the proofs before the lettering was engraved on 4o at £3.3.0.²⁵³ The publication was therefore an expensive item in its final form, costing almost as much as the most recent Waverley novel. This contrasts with Constable's original plan of distributing these plates with the cheaper reprint 8o collected edition of the *Novels and Tales*, which was ultimately illustrated in 1819 by the Edinburgh artist-turned-engraver William Home Lizars (see plate 1). Allan's designs were, therefore, a disaster for Constable, whose plans were thwarted by the over-reliance on London engravers. Of all the engravers to work on this project (Francis Engleheart, Henry Cook, Charles Warren, Henry Meyer, Charles Heath, J. Romney and Lizars), only one, Lizars, was based in Edinburgh, the rest being based in

²⁵³ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott. A Bibliographical History, 1796-1832*, (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 867.

London. The complex logistical operation, made worse by the slow progress of the artist and engravers, was incompatible with the tight deadlines Constable required. It is worth pointing out, therefore, that only Lizars seems to have produced his plates well within the deadline. This fact seems to have informed Constable's decision with the illustration of the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales* to employ Lizars exclusively in engraving the sixteen designs by Nasmyth (see section 2).

Most importantly, however, these illustrations provide the first illustrative work to have been produced with the help and guidance of Scott himself. As chapter 5 has argued, there exists evidence that Scott was personally involved in recruiting Allan as an illustrator, and that he played a major part in proofing the plates as they were being produced. These images therefore provide us with a clear idea of the attributes Scott valued in imagery which illustrated his work, such as observation of specific and contrasting costumes (plate 1.3, for example, contrasts Waverley's English military costume with MacIvor's plaids), domestic interiors and character types. It was such designs, which respected the antiquarian concerns of historical costumes, customs, objects and characters, which Scott consistently sought from his illustrators. Allan was the first in a short, privileged line of illustrators whom Scott trusted to represent his work visually, and who shared his own concerns of antiquarian specificity.

Plate 1.1



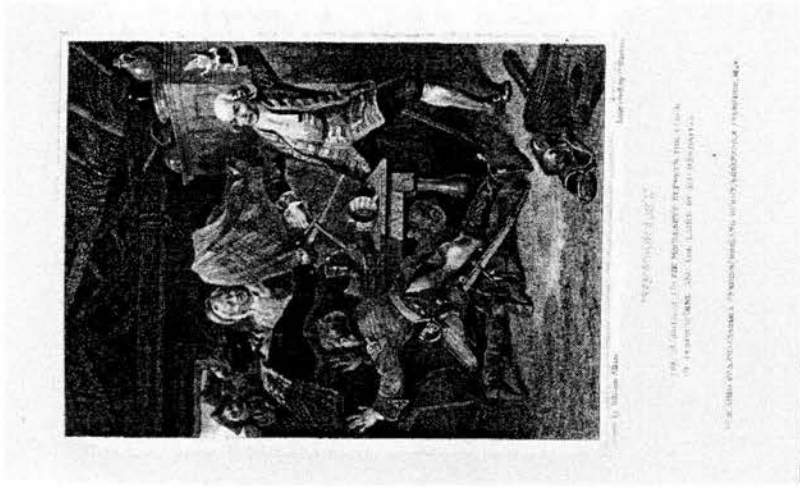
Novel: *Old Mortality*

Title: "He considered himself as fulfilling a sacred duty, while renewing to the eyes of posterity the decaying emblems of the zeal and sufferings of their forefathers"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 1.2



Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*

Title: "The Quarrel at Luckie Macleary's, between the Baron of Bradwardine and the Laird of Balmawhapple"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 1.3



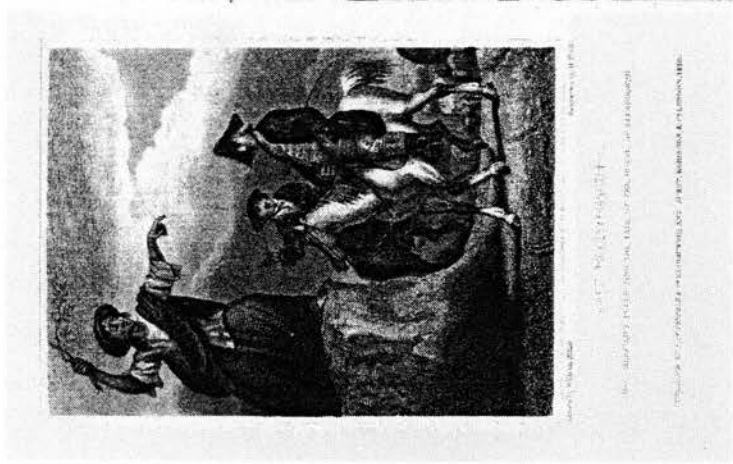
Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*

Title: "The conclusion of Flora's Song in the Glen of Glennaquoich"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Francis Engleheart

Plate 1.4



Novel: *Guy Mannering*

Title: "Meg Merrilies predicting the fall of the house of Elangowan"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: H. Cook

Plate 1.5



Novel: *Guy Mannering*

Title: "Meeting of Meg Merrilies, Brown, and Dinmont, at the ale-house in Cumberland"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Charles Warren

Plate 1.6



Novel: *The Antiquary*

Title: "The Antiquary buying fish from Mrs. Mucklebackit"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Henry Meyer

Plate 1.7



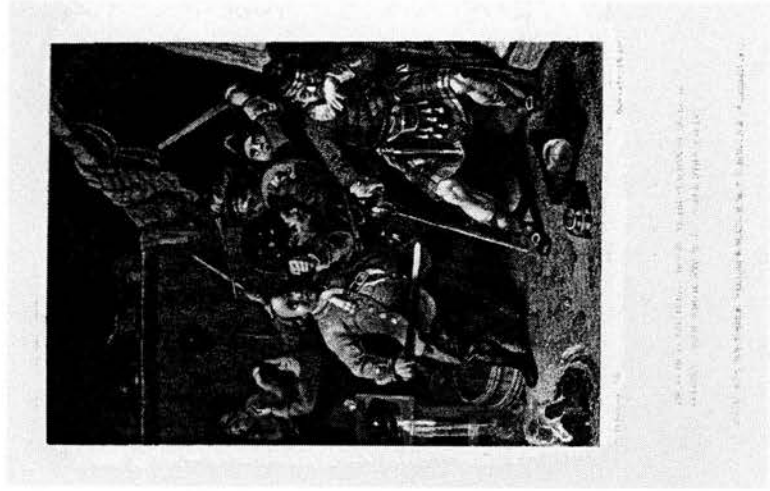
Novel: *The Antiquary*

Title: “The Laird of Monk Barns arming himself on the alarm of invasion”

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Charles Warren

Plate 1.8



Novel: *Rob Roy*

Title: “The fight in the public-house, at the Clachan at Aberfoil, between Baillie Jarvie and Major Galbraith’s party”

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: J. Romney

Plate 1.9



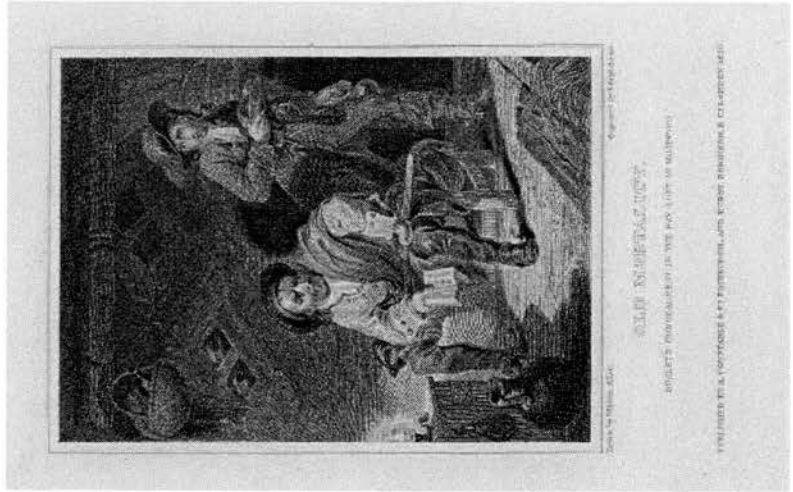
Novel: *The Black Dwarf*

Title: "Isabella Vere's midnight visit to the Black Dwarf's hut"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Francis Engleheart

Plate 1.10



Novel: *Old Mortality*

Title: "Burley's concealment in the hay loft at Milnwood"

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Francis Engleheart

Plate 1.11



Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*

Title: “Breakfast scene with Captain Knockunder at Knocktarlittie”

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: J. Romney

Plate 1.12



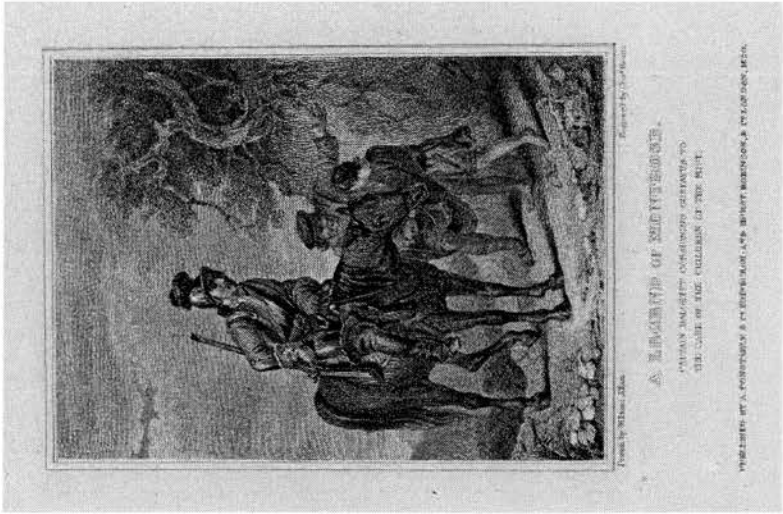
Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*

Title: “Lucy Ashton & the Master of Ravenswood pledging their love at the Mermaid’s Fountain”

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: J. Romney

Plate 1.13



Novel: *A Legend of Montrose*

Title: “Captain Dalgetty consigning Gustavus to the care of the Children of the Mist”

Artist: William Allan

Engraver: Charles Heath

Section 2

Walter Scott, *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*

(Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., and London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1821)

Nasmyth's landscape illustrations for the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales* succeeded where Allan's had failed two years previously, that is, in being produced already bound into the novels. This edition incorporated all the latest Waverley novels from *Waverley* to *A Legend of Montrose*. Published on 31 March, it followed closely on from the publication of Allan's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* in December 1820. Nasmyth's designs were the first to be painted, engraved, printed and published entirely in Edinburgh, and the lack of correspondence between Constable and his London partners, Hurst, Robinson & Co., suggests that Constable had learnt from his problems in trying to publish Allan from Edinburgh, keeping the operation firmly under his own control. This was achieved primarily by employing the only viable engraver available to him in Edinburgh, W. H. Lizars, to produce plates for all sixteen designs. Lizars had been timely in producing two plates, of the requisite quality (as Constable judged them), for Allan's *Illustrations*, and his thoroughness earned him steady work in engraving Scott's illustrations for the next few years.

Nasmyth's illustrations for the *Novels and Tales* constitute the first landscape book-illustrations of the Waverley novels, and again, as with Allan's designs, produced under the personal guidance and proofing of the author. They form a neat contrast in subject matter and approach to Scott's historical texts to Allan's narrative images of characters. The emphasis here is on topography, sites associated with the locations in the novels, and in some cases, they are recreations of *imagined* locations, rather than the actual topography of the Scottish landscape or architecture. For example, plates 2.13 and 2.14, of "The Grassmarket" and "St Anthony's Chapel" respectively, appear to be contemporary, closely observed topographical images of Edinburgh; this contrasts with the illustrations of "Canny Elshie's Cottage" (plate 2.9), which clearly has no specific model, or "Tully Veolan" (plate 2.1), which we know, from correspondence between Constable and Nasmyth, was a composite image based upon two actual buildings ("partly Craigcrook & partly Ravelston").²⁵⁴ These illustrations therefore mix topographical localities with certain national-historical landscape or architectural

²⁵⁴ NLS, MS.791, ff. 68, 1 June 1820. See appendix 1.

types.²⁵⁵ This trend would continue in his illustrations for the *Historical Romances* and *Novels and Romances*.

The 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales* was published in 12o in Edinburgh and London (the latter by Hurst, Robinson & Co.), costing £6 for all sixteen volumes. It was then re-issued for an 1825 edition. Nasmyth's illustrations for this series were reproduced in the larger 8o in 1822, for a reprint edition of the original 1819 edition, which were originally meant to incorporate Allan's illustrations. Finally, Constable published the *Novels and Tales* in the smaller 18mo format in 1823, corresponding with the subsequent publications of the *Historical Romances* and *Novels and Romances*. The *Novels and Tales* was the first collaboration between Constable, Nasmyth and Scott, marking the beginning of a productive publishing relationship during which Nasmyth would become the most prolific illustrator of Scott's work during the author's lifetime. The lack of correspondence between the men hint at the close personal working relationship between all three, as all would regularly meet under different social and professional conditions in Edinburgh.

All the images Nasmyth designed for the Waverley novels during Scott's lifetime are reproduced for the first time in sections 2, 3 and 4. For this section, the titles for all the images were obtained from the companion publication, *Sixteen Engravings from Real Scenes Supposed to be Described in the Novels and Tales Of the Author of Waverley* (1821), in which the designs were reproduced as illustrations to be incorporated into owners' novels. The images were published with explanatory titles and sub-headings, drawn from passages of the texts which the illustrations portrayed. These titles did not appear in the title pages of the *Novels and Tales*, which are reproduced here. Together with Allan's *Illustrations of the Novels and Tales*, Nasmyth's *Sixteen Engravings* provides a template for publications of supplemental illustrations which flourished in the late 1820s and 30s, such as Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1830), and the two publications together signal the first separation of landscape and character illustrations for the Waverley novels.

²⁵⁵ The full list of the localities, upon which these images were based, can be found in the letter from Constable to Nasmyth quoted above – see appendix 1.

Plate 2.1



Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. I

Title: "Craigcrook". Subtitle: "This nether Portal—opened in front of a wall—over which were seen, the high steep roofs and narrow gables of the mansion with lines indented into steps and corners decorated with small Turrets"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.2



Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. II

Title: "Holyrood Palace". Subtitle: "He therefore left the direct road, and—approached the ancient Palace of Holyrood, without having entered the Walls of the City."

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. III.

GUY MANNERING.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. III

Title: "Caerlavroc Castle". Subtitle: "It consisted of two massive round Towers projecting deeply and darkly before a curtain or flat wall which united them & thus protecting the main entrance that opened thro' a lofty arch &c.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. IV.

GUY MANNERING.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. IV

Title: "Dunure Castle". Subtitle: "The boat continued its course close under the point upon which the castle was situated which frowned from the summit of its rocky site upon the waves of the bay beneath.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.5

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. V.

THE ANTIQUARY.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. V

Title: "Dundee". Subtitle: "This mansion, which stood upon the opposite side of the hill aforesaid, commanded a fine prospect of the Bay and Shipping".

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.6

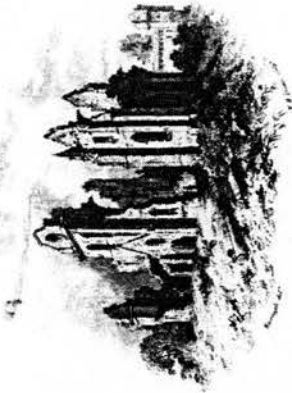
NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. VI.

THE ANTIQUARY.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. VI

Title: "Abbey of Aberbrothwick". Subtitle: "The eastern window of the Abbey of St. Ruth Aberbrothwick remained entire.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.7

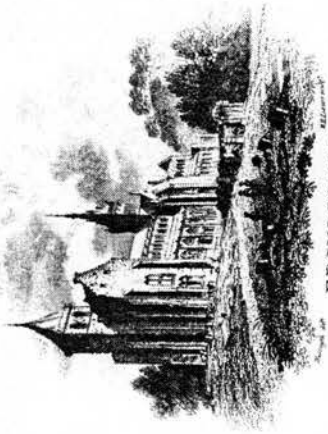
NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. VII.

ROB ROY.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VII

Title: "High Church". Subtitle: "Upon the summit of the Hill we entered the open and extensive burying Place which surrounds the Cathedral Church of Glasgow.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.8

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. VIII.

ROB ROY.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VIII

Title: "Inversnaid Fort". Subtitle: "I suppose no gentleman would advise our attempting to penetrate farther into the Country unsupported by Infantry from Inversnaid.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.9

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. IX.

BLACK DWARF.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND HENRY ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Black Dwarf*, vol. IX

Title: "Canny Elshie's Cottage". Subtitle: "The old man was seated on a broad flat stone near his garden door, which was the seat of science he usually occupied &c.—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.10

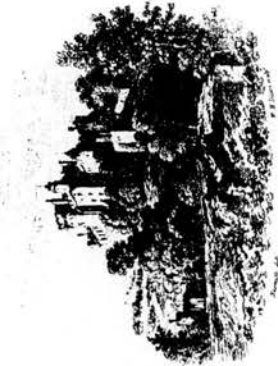
NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. X.

OLD MORTALITY.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND HENRY ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. X

Title: "Craignethan". Subtitle: "'Upon my life' he continued, as they came in front of the large double Tower & its surrounding defences & flankers, 'it is a superb place'—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.11

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XI.

OLD MORTALITY.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH,
AND HURST, RODGERS, AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. XI

Title: "Bothwell Bridge". Subtitle: "In the meanwhile, the forces of the King crossed the bridge at leisure and securing the access formed in line of battle."

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Plate 2.12

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XII.

HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH,
AND HURST, RODGERS, AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XII

Title: "Heart of Midlothian". Subtitle: "Then the Tolbooth of Edinburgh is called the Heart of Mid Lothian? said I. "So termed & reputed I assure you".

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

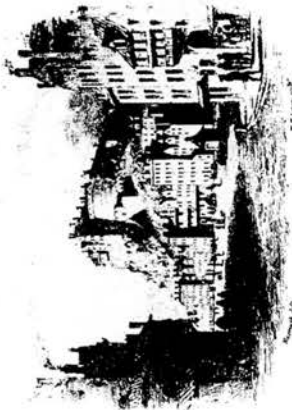
NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XIII.

HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND HESTER, ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. III

Title: "Grass Market". Subtitle: "They at length reached the Grassmarket the common Place of execution the scene of his crime and destined spot of his sufferings."

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XIV.

HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND HESTER, ROBINSON AND CO LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XIV

Title: "St. Anthony's Chapel". Subtitle: "The north western shoulder of the mountain called Arthur's Seat, on whose descent still remain the ruins of what was once a Chapel &c—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XV.

BRIDE OF LAMMERMUIR.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*, vol. XV

Title: "Crichton Castle". Subtitle: "—ascending from the fertile plains of East Lothian there stood in former times an extensive castle, of which only the runs are now visible."

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

NOVELS AND TALES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

VOL. XVI.

MONTROSE.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Novel: *A Legend of Montrose*, vol. XVI

Title: "Inverary". Subtitle: "He might have marked on the soft and gentle slope—the noble and gothic castle with its varied outline, embattled walls, towers &c—"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: William Home Lizars

Section 3

Walter Scott, *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley*

(Edinburgh: Constable & Co., and London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1822-1824)

The *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley* was in essence a continuation of the *Novels and Tales*. Rather than issue another edition of the *Novels and Tales* to incorporate the latest Waverley novels in yet more volumes, Constable chose to issue those novels which did not appear in the *Novels and Tales* under a different title. The *Historical Romances* therefore included *Ivanhoe* (1820), *The Monastery* (1820), *The Abbot* (1820) and *Kenilworth* (1821). These novels followed on sequentially from the last novel published in the *Novels and Tales*, *A Legend of Montrose*. They were also published in identical formats to the *Novels and Tales*, resulting essentially in one continuous, illustrated collection of Waverley novels. The first edition was published in 8o in June 1822, and the second in 12o in October the same year, matching the sizes and formats of the 8o and 12o editions of the *Novels and Tales*. However, there was an additional third edition which was published in Edinburgh and London in February 1824, in the smaller 18o size. This edition is interesting, because the London publishers, Hurst, Robinson & Co., took it upon themselves to illustrate their stock with additional frontispiece plates produced by London-based artists and engravers. These illustrations did not appear in their Edinburgh counterparts, hinting at the fact that the stock shipped by Constable to London was subsequently illustrated for distribution to a London readership. These frontispieces have therefore not been reproduced here, as they were not commissioned or produced in Edinburgh for a Scottish readership.

The title-page illustrations perpetuated the theme of continuity in the physical presentation of the collected novels: again, Nasmyth was the artist of choice, but this time engraved by William Archibald, another Edinburgh-based engraver. Nasmyth produced a total of eight landscape designs for the *Historical Romances*, although all of these were only published in the second, 12o edition. The first 8o edition was published in six volumes, priced at £3.13.0, while the smaller 12o was published with an additional two volumes, costing £3.0.0. William Todd and Ann Bowden outline Constable's increasing confidence in the sale of such collected series, ordering 5000 copies of the 8o *Historical Romances*, which was some 3500 more copies than he had had printed for the original 1819 edition of the *Novels and Tales*. 2700 of these copies

were dispatched to Hurst, Robinson & Co. in London, while they received 1620 copies of the 12o. For the latter edition, Nasmyth and Archibald were employed to prepare two extra engravings.²⁵⁶ The subsequent ordering of the illustrations for the 8o and the 12o are therefore difficult to verify with any clarity. The first three illustrations appear in the same order; however, the fourth volume of the 12o included one new illustration “A ruined abbey”, for *The Monastery*, and the sixth volume included the other, “A battlefield”, for *The Abbot*. The novels were therefore illustrated in the two editions as follows:

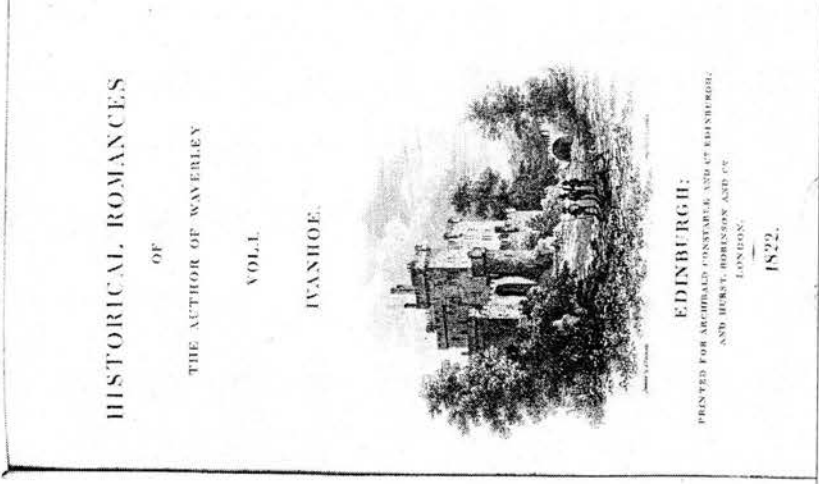
<i>Historical Romances</i> 8o edition	<i>Historical Romances</i> , 12o edition
I – “Castle of Torquilstone” II – “Abbey of St Mary” III – “Glendearg” IV – “Lochleven” V – “Warwick Castle” VI – “Remains of the Gateway”	I – “Castle of Torquilstone” II – “Abbey of St Mary” III – “Glendearg” IV – “a ruined abbey” V – “Lochleven” VI – “a battlefield” VII – “Remains of the Gateway” VIII – “Warwick Castle”

The reproductions for this catalogue have been taken from the original 8o edition, and include the additional two plates for the eight-volume 12o edition. The titles have been taken from Todd and Bowden’s *Bibliographical History*, although they have mistakenly marked the second illustration in both editions for *Ivanhoe* as “Glendearg”. Glendearg is a location in *The Monastery*, while St Mary’s appears in *Ivanhoe*. All of the original six Nasmyth title-page vignettes of the 8o edition were subsequently reproduced in the same order for the 18o, six-volume 1824 edition, with the additional London frontispieces. However, in this smaller edition, Nasmyth was no longer identified by name on the design, and the engraving was undertaken by the London-based Edward Finden.²⁵⁷ This fact outlines the practice of having to produce *new* plates from Nasmyth’s original designs for the different sizes of publication, and again emphasises the point that the London publishers took it upon themselves to use their own, superior resources whenever possible.

²⁵⁶ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: a Bibliographical History*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 797-800.

²⁵⁷ Todd and Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 803.

Plate 3.1



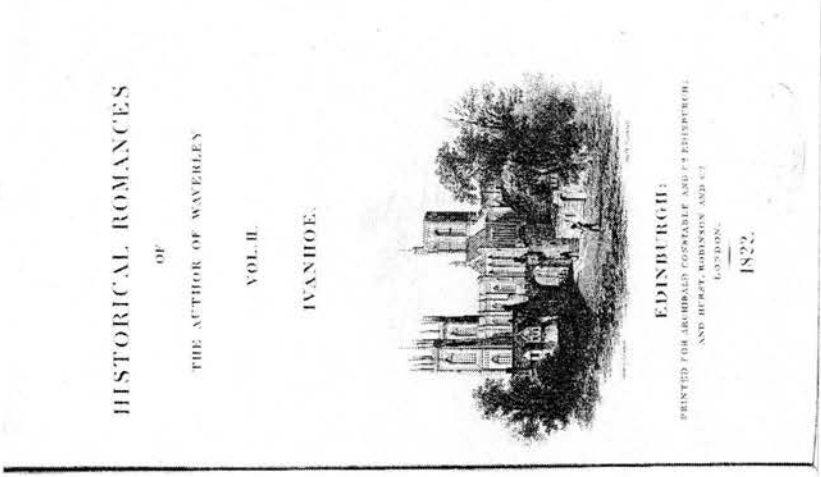
Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. I, 80

Title: “Castle of Torquilstone”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.2



Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. II, 80

Title: “Abbey of St Mary”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.3

HISTORICAL ROMANCES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY

VOL. III.

THE MONASTERY.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LTD.
LONDON.

1822.

Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. III, 80

Title: "Glendearg"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.4

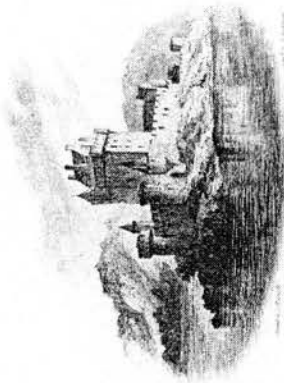
HISTORICAL ROMANCES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY

VOL. IV.

THE ABBOT.



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND HURST, ROBINSON AND CO. LTD.
LONDON.

1822.

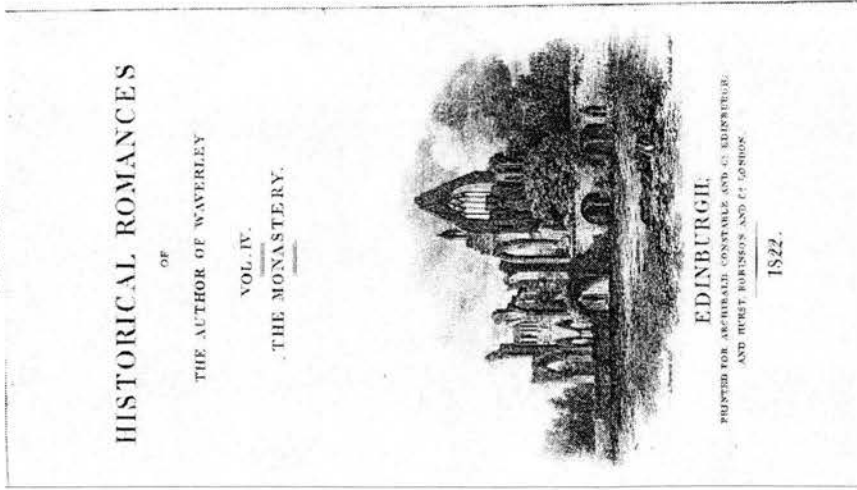
Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. IV, 80 (vol. V, 120)

Title: "Lochleven"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.5



Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. IV of the 12o, 2nd edition.

Title: "A Ruined Abbey"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.6



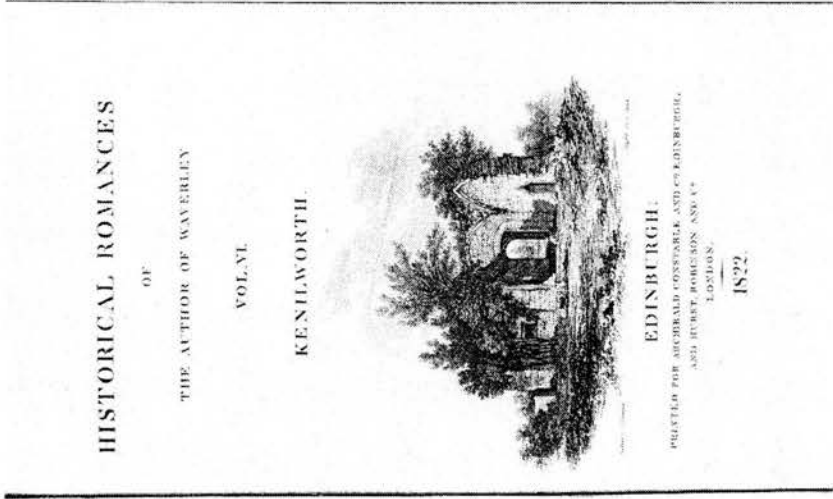
Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. V, 8o (vol. VIII, 12o)

Title: "Warwick Castle"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.7



Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. VI, 8o (vol. VII, 12o)

Title: “Remains of the Gateway”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 3.8



Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. VI of the 12o, 2nd edition.

Title: “A Battlefield”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Section 4

Walter Scott, *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley*

(Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., and London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1824-5).

The *Novels and Romances* was a further continuation of the collected novels, following sequentially from the *Novels and Tale* and the *Historical Romances*. The novels included in this series were *The Pirate* (1821), *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), *Peveril of the Peak* (1822) and *Quentin Durward* (1823). As with the *Historical Romances*, the *Novels and Romances* were published in three sizes, the 8o and the 12o simultaneously in January 1824 (although they were first published in Edinburgh in December 1823), and the 18o a year later in January 1825. The 8o was priced at £4.4.0, the 12o at £3.7.6 and the 18o at £2.9.0, the price therefore decreasing correspondingly with the relative size of the publication. In keeping with the series, Nasmyth was retained as the artist, and William Archibald was again employed as the engraver. The *Novels and Romances* follows the publishing route set by the *Historical Romances*, in that it appeared in seven volumes for the 8o, and nine in the 12o, and seven again in the smallest 18o. It also appears that, as with the *Historical Romances*, the 18o was ordered primarily by Hurst, Robinson & Co., and embellished again with frontispieces designed and engraved by London illustrators, while Nasmyth's designs were reproduced by Edward Finden. These illustrations have not been reproduced for the catalogue for this reason. Instead, all nine of Nasmyth's designs as engraved by Archibald are included.

William Todd and Ann Bowden quote the first volume title-page vignette to have been engraved by William Miller, and the rest having been completed by Archibald – however, an examination of the illustration reproduced for this catalogue confirms that Archibald was the exclusive engraver for this series of illustrations.²⁵⁸ The additional illustrations for the nine-volume 12o edition appear in volumes V (“vignette of a lady and gentleman conversing”) and VI (“vignette of a wayside inn”), therefore affecting the order of the illustrations in each edition as follows:

²⁵⁸ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: a Bibliographical History*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 805.

<i>Novels and Romances</i> , 8o edition	<i>Novels and Romances</i> , 12o edition
I – “vignette of the Roost of Sumburgh” II – “vignette of Burgh Westra” III – “vignette of Whitehall” IV – “vignette of Camlet Moat” V – “vignette of Castle Holm-Peel” VI – “vignette of Castle of Peronne” VII – “vignette of Castle of Plessis-le-Tours”	I – “vignette of the Roost of Sumburgh” II – “vignette of Burgh Westra” III – “vignette of Whitehall” IV – “vignette of Camlet Moat” V – “vignette of lady and gentleman conversing” VI – “vignette of a wayside inn” VII – “vignette of Castle of Holm Peel” VIII – “vignette of Castle of Plessis-le-Tours” IX – “vignette of Castle of Peronne”

All the titles have again been taken from Todd and Bowden’s *Bibliographical History*, as no other known titles exist. The reproductions which follow have been taken from the nine-volume 12o edition, and the alternate volumes for the 8o editions have been marked where appropriate. As with the *Historical Romances*, the later 18o edition reproduced the original seven title-page vignettes as they appeared in the 8o edition, with the extra London frontispieces. The *Novels and Romances* were to be Constable’s last foray into growing market for the illustrated, collected edition of the Waverley novels before his death in 1826, but his template was employed by his successor as Scott’s publisher in Edinburgh, Robert Cadell, with the *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley*, and ultimately with the *Magnum Opus*. From the first instalment of the *Novels and Tales* in 1819, Constable had managed to publish all of Scott’s novels to date, from *Waverley* to *Quentin Durward*, in this serialised illustrated format.

Plate 4.1



Novel: *Pirate*, vol. I

Title: “Roost of Sumburgh”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.2



Novel: *The Pirate*, vol. II

Title: “Burgh Westra”

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Walter Scott, *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1821-26)

Plate 4.3



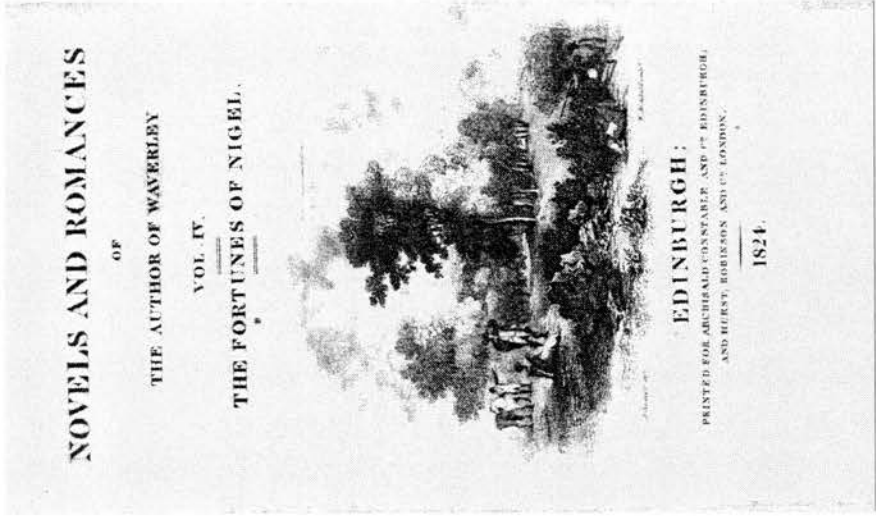
Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. III

Title: "Whitehall"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.4



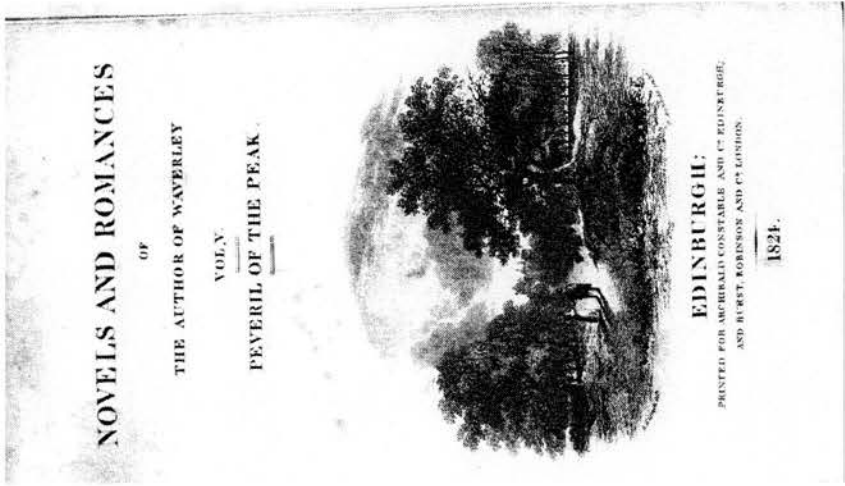
Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. IV

Title: Camlet Moat

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.5



Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. V (120 only)

Title: "Lady and gentleman conversing"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.6



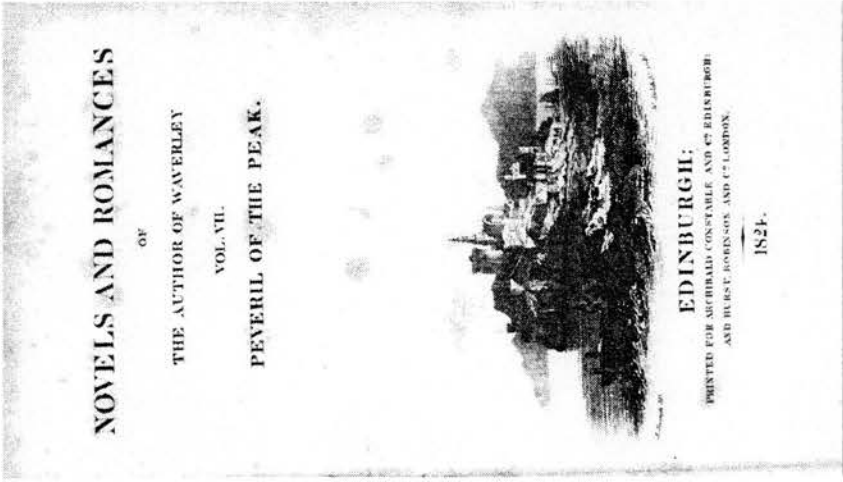
Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. VI (120 only)

Title: "Wayside inn"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.7



Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. VII, 12o (vol. V for 8o and 18o)

Title: "Castle of Holm-Peel"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Plate 4.8

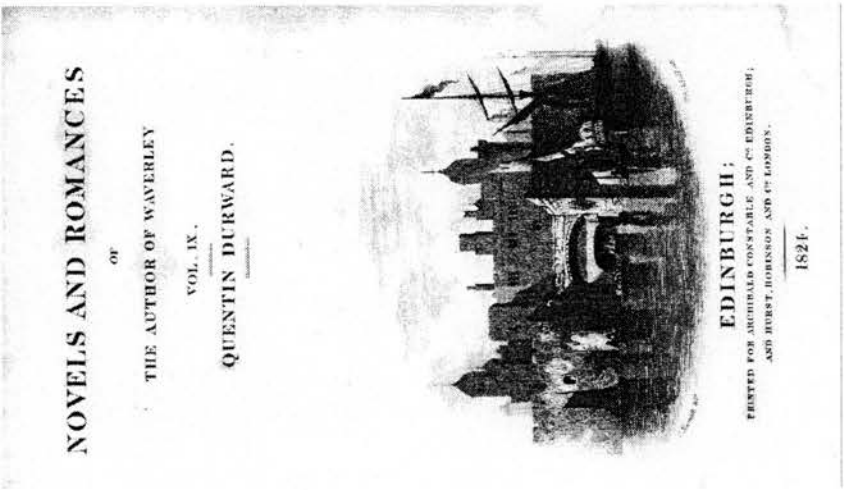


Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. VIII, 12o (vol. VII for 8o and 18o)

Title: "Castle of Plessis-le-Tours"

Artist: Archibald Constable

Engraver: W. Archibald



Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. IX (vol. VI for 8o and 18o)

Title: "Castle of Peronne"

Artist: Alexander Nasmyth

Engraver: W. Archibald

Section 5

Walter Scott, *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley*

(Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., and London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1827-1833).

The *Tales and Romances* was Robert Cadell's first attempt to continue the project begun by Constable with his series of collected, illustrated novels, and, as such, marks a continuation of style and formatting from its predecessors. It follows on sequentially from the *Novels and Romances*, including the recently published novels *St Ronan's Well* (1824), *Redgauntlet* (1824), the *Tales of the Crusaders* (that is, *The Betrothed* and *The Talisman*, both published in 1825) and *Woodstock* (1826). However, this does not tell the whole story of this publication. Like its predecessors, the *Historical Romances* and *Novels and Romances*, it was published in the three familiar forms, 8o (costing £4.4.0), 12o (at £3.7.6) and in the smaller 18o (costing £2.9.0). All appeared in the same year, 1827, published several months apart but in close succession. The first two editions, the 8o and the 12o, follow Constable's template to the letter. Each title-page vignette, although now designed either by the Edinburgh topographical draughtsman John Ewbank or Joseph Kidd, and engraved by W. H. Lizars (who also designed the plate for volume VI), retained the feel and topographical subject-matter of Nasmyth's designs for Constable's editions. It is the third edition, however, which marks a departure from this established format, and signals Cadell's change of thinking which would influence his production of the *Magnum Opus*. The 18o edition, according to William Todd and Ann Bowden, comprised entirely new title-page vignettes and additional frontispieces, designed by Kidd and Lizars (Ewbank's were not reproduced), and engraved by Lizars in Edinburgh. The frontispieces were all designed by the London-based artist William Heath, but again engraved in Edinburgh by Lizars.²⁵⁹

We see, therefore, how Cadell had learned from the exploits of the London publishers in having the smaller edition engraved with frontispieces. This was the first time that this format of collected Waverley novel, with frontispiece *and* title-page engravings, was produced in Edinburgh for an Edinburgh readership, and it signalled Cadell's intent to take the rebranding of the novels further than Constable had done

²⁵⁹ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: a Bibliographical History*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 821.

previously. It was precisely this format which he followed in illustrating the *Magnum*, between 1829 and 1833, and we therefore see Cadell experimenting with the presentation of the novel and gauging its success in the market before embarking on his biggest project to date. The fact that he had all new designs engraved for the 18o suggests that the emphasis, at least for his local market, was on novelty, the newness of the imagery and of the format of the Waverley novel. It is difficult to get a sense of the success of this new format in Edinburgh, but Cadell's subsequent desire to publish all of Scott's novels in this manner with the *Magnum Opus*, and then to reprint this edition of the *Tales and Romances* in 1833, suggests that it was a success.

The illustrations for the 18o were unavailable for reproduction in this catalogue, but the nine illustrations engraved for the 12o have been reproduced. As with the *Historical Romances* and the *Novels and Romances*, the 8o and the 18o appeared in seven volumes, while the 12o was published in nine. This again makes identifying the correct illustration for its relative volume in the different sizes problematic, but they seem to have been published in the following order.

<i>Tales and Romances</i> 8o edition	<i>Tales and Romances</i> , 12o edition
I – “vignette of two men approaching a mansion”	I – “vignette of two men approaching a mansion”
II – “vignette of a church and a graveyard”	II – “vignette of a church and a graveyard”
III – “vignette of a lakeside cottage”	III – “vignette of a castle”
IV – “vignette of a castle”	IV – “vignette of a lakeside cottage”
V – “vignette of a castle”	V – “vignette of a castle”
VI – “vignette of an enclosed well”	VI – “vignette of a distant lake”
VII – “vignette of a castle in the distance”	VII – “vignette of a closed well”
	VIII – “vignette of castle in the distance”
	IX – “vignette of a castle in the distance”

In the absence of any corroborating evidence or documentation, the titles here have been taken from Todd and Bowden's *Bibliographical History*, meaning that such titles as “vignette of a castle in the distance” can be confusing. However, they have been clearly marked in the catalogue as to which volume each appeared in originally: the images here have been taken from the nine-volume 12o edition, with volumes III and VI containing those illustrations which were added to the original suite for the seven-volume 8o edition. The illustrations and frontispieces for the 18o edition, which could not be reproduced, are listed by Todd and Bowden as follows.

- I – title-page vignette of distant castle on hill; frontispiece “St. Ronan’s Well. Mowbray’s interview with His Sister.”
- II – title-page vignette of footbridge; frontispiece “Redgauntlet. Wandering Willie, His Wife & Benjie discovered by Darsie Latmier.”
- III – title-page vignette of two horsemen; frontispiece “Redgauntlet. Meeting of Father Buonaventure with Allan Fairford, Miss Arthuret, & Miss Seraphina.”
- IV – title-page vignette of a castle on a hill; frontispiece “The Betrothed. Approach of Eveline to Her Aunt the Ancient Lady of Baldringham.”
- V – title-page vignette of a maiden by a spring; frontispiece “The Talisman. Sir Kenneth & the Emir at the Diamond of the Desert.”
- VI – title-page vignette of palm trees; frontispiece “The Talisman. Scene with the Pastor and Master Tomkins in the Church at Woodstock”.
- VII – title-page vignette of a woman by a spring; frontispiece “Woodstock. Wildrake’s interview with Cromwell.”

The title-page vignette for volume II is both designed and engraved by Lizars, and the remainder are drawn by J. Kidd and engraved by Lizars. The frontispieces are all designed by William Heath and again engraved by Lizars, except for volume VII which is engraved by J. Horsburgh.

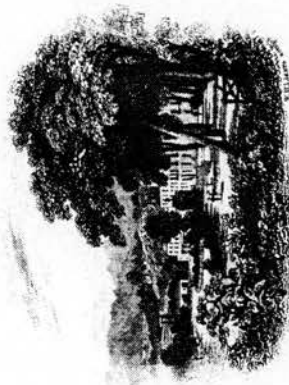
TALES AND ROMANCES,

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WEVERLEY.

VOL. I.

ST. RONAN'S WELL.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
LONDON.

1827.

Novel: *St. Ronan's Well*, vol. I

Title: "Vignette of two men approaching a mansion"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES

OF

THE AUTHOR OF WEVERLEY

VOL. II.

ST. RONAN'S WELL.



EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CO EDINBURGH,
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN LONDON.

1827.

Novel: *St. Ronan's Well*, vol. II

Title: "Vignette of a church and a graveyard"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES,
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.
VOL. III.
REDGAUNTLET.



EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CUMING, EDINBURGH,
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
LONDON.
1827.

Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. III for the 12o edition only

Title: "Vignette of a Castle"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES,
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.
VOL. IV.
REDGAUNTLET.



EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CUMING, EDINBURGH,
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
LONDON.
1827.

Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. IV, 12o (vol. III for 8o)

Title: "Vignette of a lakeside cottage"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY
VOL. V.
CRUSADERS.



EDINBURGH;
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN, LONDON.
1827.

Novel: *Tales of the Crusaders*, vol. V (vol. IV for the 8o)

Title: "Vignette of a castle"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY
VOL. VI.
CRUSADERS.



EDINBURGH;
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CO. EDINBURGH;
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN, LONDON.
1827.

Novel: *Tales of the Crusaders*, vol. VI for the 12o only

Title: "Vignette of a distant lake"

Artist: Joseph Kidd

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES,
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.
VOL. VII.
CRUSADERS.



EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CROWE, EDINBURGH,
AND LONDON: REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
LONDON.
1827.

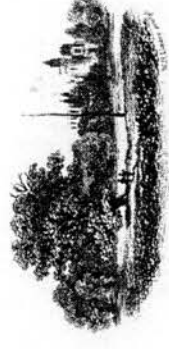
Novel: *Tales of the Crusaders*, vol. VII, 12o (vol. VI for 8o)

Title: "Vignette of an enclosed well"

Artist: William Home Lizars

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES,
OF
THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.
VOL. VIII.
WOODSTOCK.



EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CADELL AND CROWE, EDINBURGH,
AND LONDON: REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
LONDON.
1827.

Novel: *Woodstock*, vol. VIII, 12o (vol. V for 8o)

Title: "Vignette of a castle in the distance"

Artist: John Ewbank

Engraver: William Home Lizars

TALES AND ROMANCES,
OF
THE AUTHOR OF Waverley.
VOL. IX.
WOODSTOCK.



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Section 6

Walter Scott, *Magnum Opus: Waverley Novels*

(Edinburgh: Cadell & Company, and London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1829-1833)

The first instalment of the *Magnum Opus* appeared concurrently in Edinburgh and London on 1 June, 1829. The first two volumes comprised *Waverley*, and each volume thereafter was published at monthly intervals. The original projection was for 40 volumes (although eventually published in 48 volumes), each to be illustrated with a new frontispiece and title-page vignette by artists and engravers in both London and Edinburgh. It was published in the 18o format, and therefore followed the prototype Cadell had explored with the third edition of the *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley* in 1827. The illustrations were perceived to be crucial to the popularity of the publication, and they were heavily marketed.²⁶⁰ Given Constable's logistical difficulties in producing Allan's thirteen illustrations ten years previously, the project to produce ninety-six illustrations over four years, using up to thirty-six artists and engravers, can be put into perspective. Nonetheless, the project was completed on time, and the last instalment appeared on schedule on 1 May 1833. Ultimately, given the death of Scott in 1832, the *Magnum* was to produce the first, complete edition of the collected, illustrated Waverley novels, succeeding where Constable had tried and failed.

The most significant factor of the *Magnum*, however, was the price. Costing only 5s per volume, the Waverley novels, well illustrated by popular and famous artists, were affordable to a much wider cross-section of the reading public, who had previously only had access to them through the circulating libraries. Ownership of the novels became possible for many more people than had previously been the case. Ian Duncan, for example, argues that Charles Dickens would have read Scott through the *Magnum* edition during his early manhood in the 1830s, rather than in his childhood; in the 1820s, around the time of Dickens's childhood, Scott would have been too expensive for Dickens to own, but he probably, like so many other families of the time, read the *Magnum* edition in London in the 1830s.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Please see chapter 3 for the marketing of the *Magnum* illustrations and their reception.

²⁶¹ Duncan, Ian, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott and Dickens* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992), p. 209.

The timing and popularity of the *Magnum* therefore has implications for the development of the Victorian illustrated novel in the 1830s, particularly those of Dickens. The *Magnum* spawned copycat publications, including John Murray's *Works of Lord Byron* (1832-33) and Colburn and Bentley's *Standard Novels* (1831-55). In this way the *Magnum* had an influential impact on the market for popular, illustrated literature in the 1830s, directly predating the appearance in 1836 of Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*. Traditionally, this is the point at which the nineteenth-century illustrated novel began in earnest, and it is certainly among the first instances of an author working *with* an illustrator during the writing process, but, as this thesis has shown, the illustration of the Waverley novels had set a clear precedent, commercially, logistically and artistically, for this type of operation.²⁶² By 1836, the Waverley industry had provided innumerable models in style and subject-matter for the illustration of the novel. Interestingly, Dickens's first illustrator, the cartoonist George Cruikshank, had been illustrating Scott for years by 1836, including images commissioned from him for the first edition of Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830); Cruikshank provides the clearest example of continuity between the illustration of Scott and the development of the Victorian illustrated novel.²⁶³

The illustrations for the *Magnum* were bound into the individual volumes, but they were also sold separately to those buyers who wanted to incorporate them into their own, earlier editions of the novels. This separate publication, the *Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, was advertised 1 September 1829, announcing the publication of the first 16 plates, the last of which was made available before the last two of those plates, for *Rob Roy* (see plates 6.15 and 6.16), were published with their instalment. These illustrations were sold in five different states: 80 prints, at 12s; 40 French proofs, at £1.0.0; 40 India proofs, at £1.4.0; 40 Colombier proofs before letters at £1.15.0; and finally as etchings, at £1.1.0.²⁶⁴ In addition to this, Cadell also advertised James Skene's *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*, a series of illustrations, produced with the personal consultation and blessing of Scott himself, illustrating the localities of the novels. As the illustrations for the

²⁶² J. R. Harvey, for example, in *Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), mentions Scott once, and dismisses the author as being only interested in the commercial benefits of illustration during the time of his financial debt.

²⁶³ Cruikshank provided several illustrations for the picture books of the 1830s, most notably *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, (Fisher, Son, & Co., London & Paris, 1836-38).

²⁶⁴ William Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: a Bibliographical History*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 889.

Magnum are almost exclusively narrative or character illustrations, Skene's *Localities* provides an interesting juxtaposition of landscape illustration, mirroring Constable's original separation of landscape and character scenes with the separate publication of Nasmyth's and Allan's illustrations for the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* between 1820 and 1821. Unfortunately, due to the heavy workload placed on Skene, who was etching his own designs, the *Localities* was only published in one of the two proposed volumes. They are not reproduced here, as they were not commissioned specifically for the novels, but as supplementary illustrations (by contrast, Allan's illustrations *were* commissioned for the *Novels and Tales*, even though they did not make the anticipated publication). Instead, Charles Tilt was quick to spot the market for supplemental landscape illustrations, and produced the *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* in 1830 in London, essentially filling the hole in the market left by Skene's aborted project. The *Landscape Illustrations* were specifically designed to illustrate the *Magnum* edition, providing the consumer with further illustrations to those already bound into their latest volume.

A total of 36 artists and 35 engravers were employed to produce 96 illustrations for the *Magnum*, all of which are reproduced here. At least two of the artists, W. Kidd and S. Davenport, both designed *and* engraved plates (but not plates from their own designs). The following is a complete list, in alphabetical order, of the artists and engravers involved in the project. Amongst the artists, in particular, there is a healthy share of Scottish participation (Allan, Cawse, Gordon, Hill, Lauder and Wilkie, for example), although Edinburgh engravers are under-represented, being dominated by their London counterparts. It is difficult to identify with clarity the Edinburgh engravers from this list, other than by process of elimination from those engravers who were based in London; however, John Horsburgh lived and worked in Scotland throughout his career, while William Miller also worked from Edinburgh, having been apprenticed to William Archibald (see sections 3 and 4 for his engravings after Nasmyth's designs), and spent some time in London under the tutelage of George Cooke between 1819 and 1821.²⁶⁵ The predominance of London-based engravers reflects Cadell's conviction (probably correct) that the best engraving was to be found in London at this time. Nonetheless, this list provides a good reflection of the division of labour involved in producing the illustrations, and the scale of the operation which

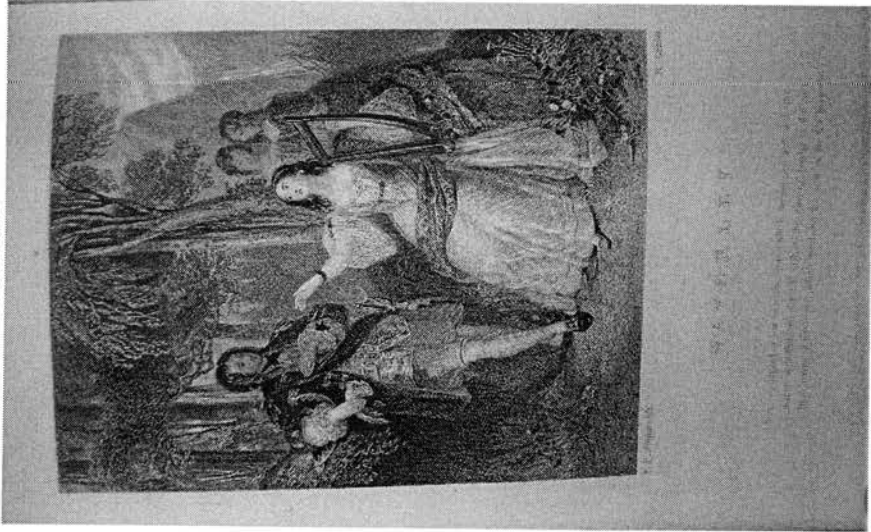
²⁶⁵ Raymond Lister, *Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 232 and 273.

Cadell mounted and successfully completed. As the catalogue demonstrates, he achieved the quality of design and engraving he had sought, a fact which is partly reflected in the enormous success he achieved with the *Magnum*.

List of artists and engravers employed on the *Magnum Opus* illustrations.

Artists	Engravers
Allan, W.	Bacon, F.
Bone, R. T.	Chevalier, W.
Bonnington, R.	Davenport, S.
Boxall, W.	Duncan, A.
Burnet, J.	Edwards, J. C.
Cawse, J.	Engleheart, F.
Chalon, A. E.	Engleheart, T. S.
Chisolm, A.	Ensom, W.
Collins, W.	Finden, E.
Cooke, C. G.	Finden, W.
Cooper, A.	Fox, A.
Davenport, S.	Fox, C.
Duncan, T.	Freebairn, A. R.
Fraser, A.	Goodall, E.
Fraser, W.	Goodyear, J.
Gordon, J. W.	Graves, R.
Hart, S. A.	Greatbach, W.
Hill, D. O.	Heath, C.
Inskipp, J.	Horsburgh, J.
Kidd, W.	Humphreys, W.
Landseer, E.	Kidd, W.
Lauder, R.	Miller, W.
Leslie, C. R.	Mitchell, J.
Martin, J.	Phelps, J.
Mulready, W.	Portbury, E.
Newton, G. S.	Raddon, W.
Smirk, R.	Rolls, C.
Stanfield, C.	Rolls, H.
Stephanoff, F. P.	Rolls, J.
Stephanoff, J.	Romney, J.
Stone, F.	Sangster, S.
Webster, J.	Shenton, H. C.
West, J.	Taylor, W. J.
Wilkie, D.	Warren, A.
Wood, J.	Watt, W. H.
Wright, J. M.	

Plate 6:1



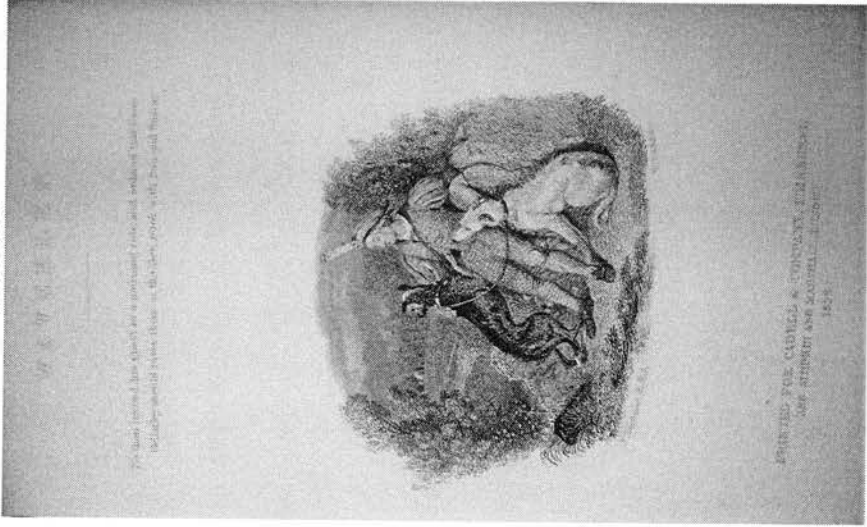
Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. I.

Title: "Flora introduced a few irregular strains which harmonized well with the distant waterfall and the soft sigh of the evening breeze in the rustling leaves of an aspen, which overhung the seat of the fair harpists."

Artist: F. P. Stephano

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:2



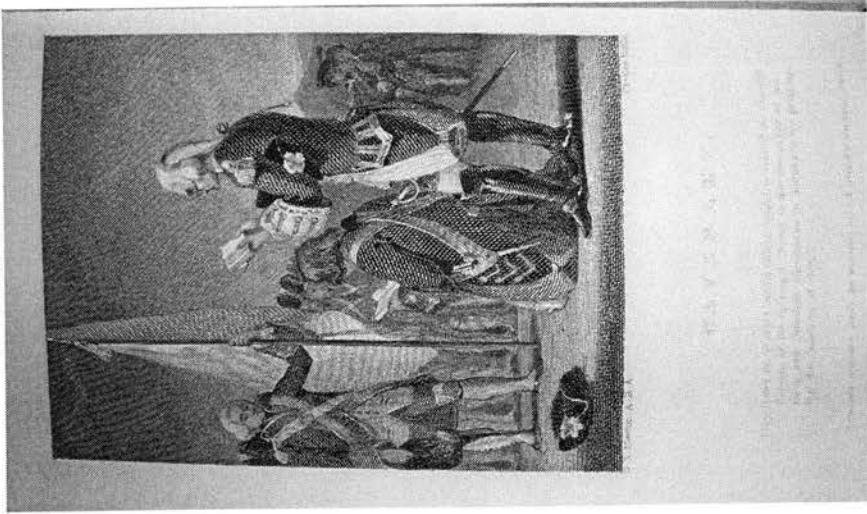
Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. I.

Title: "He then invited his guest to a morning ride and ordered that Davie Gellately should meet them at the *dern path* with Ban and Buscar."

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: W. Raddon

Plate 6:3



Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. II.

Title: "They found the good old careful officer engaged in reading the Evening Service of the Episcopal Church to the remainder of his troop, and Saunders Saunderson in military array performing the functions of clerk."

Artist: G. S. Newton

Engraver: Charles Rolls

Plate 6:4

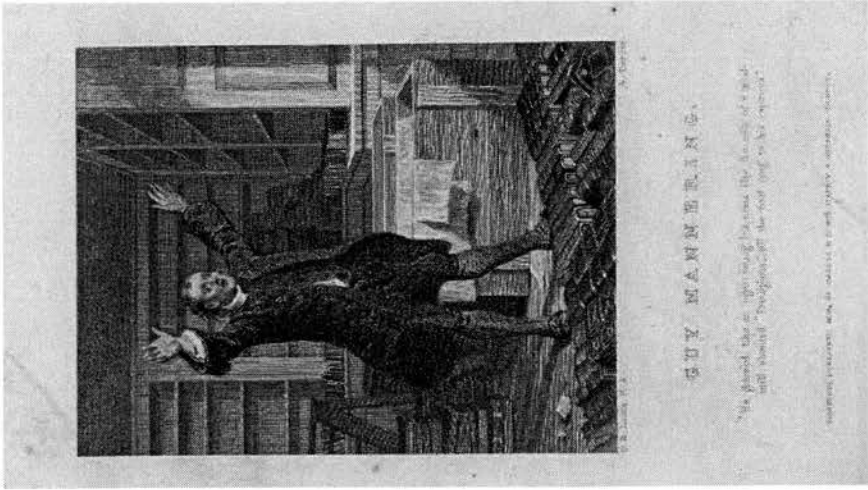


Novel: *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, vol. II.

Title: "It makes me young again to see you here Mr. Waverley! A worthy scion of the old stock of Waverley Honour. And so you have mounted the cockade right right [sic] though I could have wished the colour different and so I would ha deemed might Sir Everard."

Artist: J. Stephanoff

Engraver: R. Graves

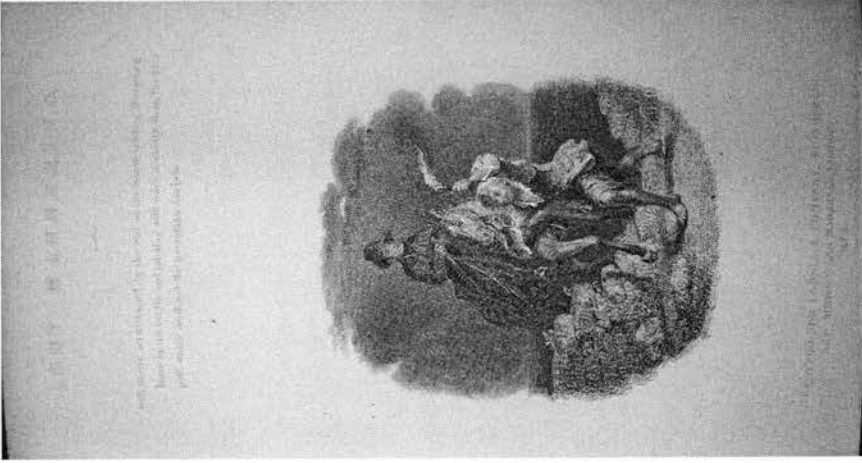


Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. III.

Title: "He grinned like an ogre swung his arms like a windmill, shouted "Prodigious" till the roof rung to his raptures."

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: A. Duncan



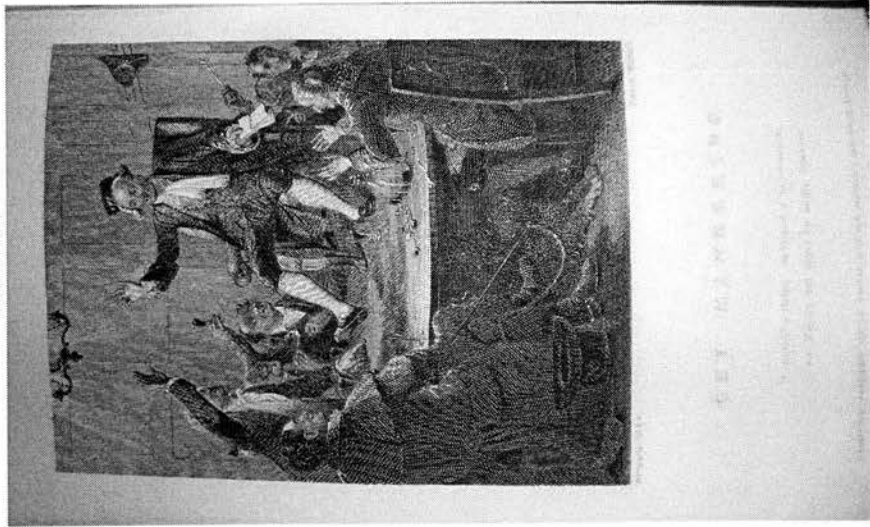
Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. III.

Title: "Jock moved on westward by the end of the house leading Mannerings horse by the bridle and piloting with some dexterity along the little path which bordered the formidable Jaw hole."

Artist: C. G. Cooke

Engraver: W. Kidd

Plate 6:7



Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. IV.

Title: "A forfeit! a forfeit!" exclaimed a dozen voices; "his majesty has forgot his kingly character."

Artist: William Kidd

Engraver: James Mitchell

Plate 6:8



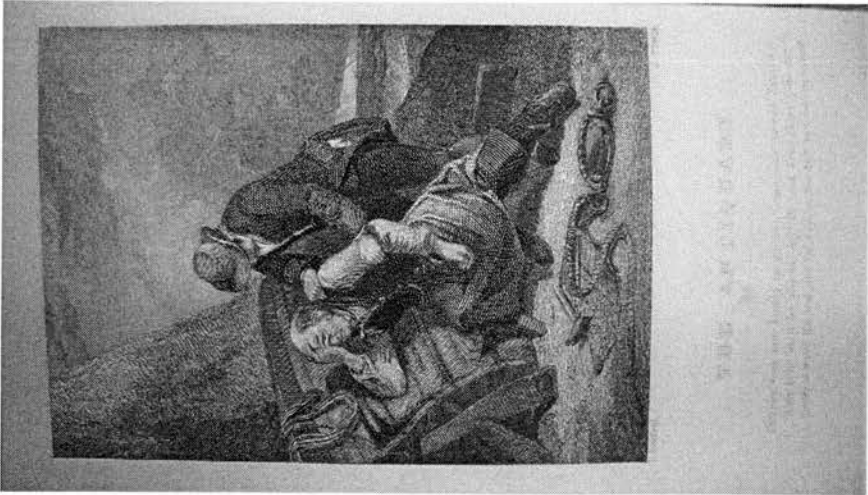
Novel: *Guy Mannering*, vol. IV.

Title: "'Call louder,'" answered Dirk Hatteraick. "'Mr. Glossin for God's sake come away.'"
'"'He'll hardly to that without help"' said Hatteraick."

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: J. C. Edwards

Plate 6:9



Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. V.

Title: “Oldbuck took him kindly by the arm. “Come, Come”, he said, “Saunders, there is no work for you this day—I’ll send down Shavings the carpenter to mend the boat, and he may put the day’s work into my account.””

Artist: C. Stanfield

Engraver: J. Phelps

Plate 6:10



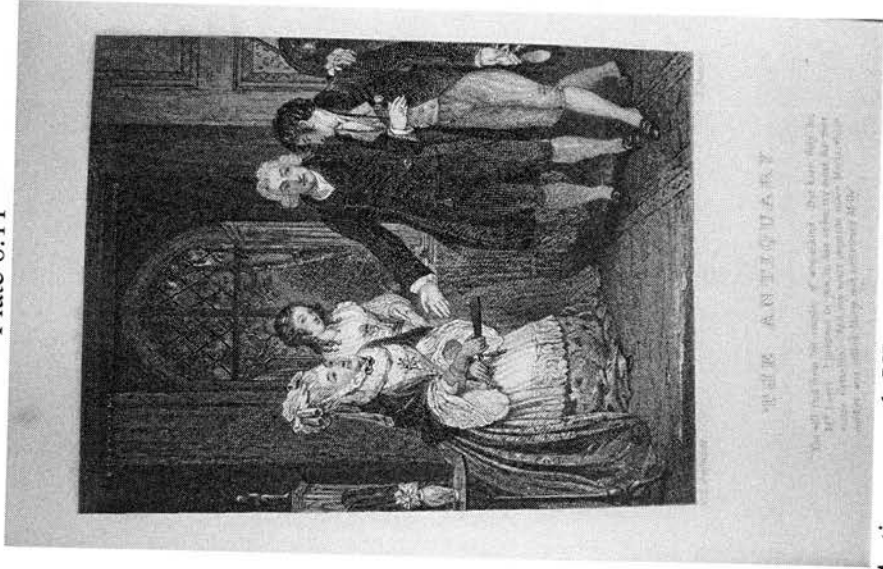
Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. V.

Title: “The Steed alarmed by the boy’s cries and by the flapping of the reins which dangled about his fore-feet, finding also his nose turned homeward, began to set off at a rate which if Davie kept the saddle (a matter extremely dubious) would soon have presented him at Heukbane’s Stable-door.”

Artist: Abram. Cooper

Engraver: Ambrose Warren

Plate 6:11



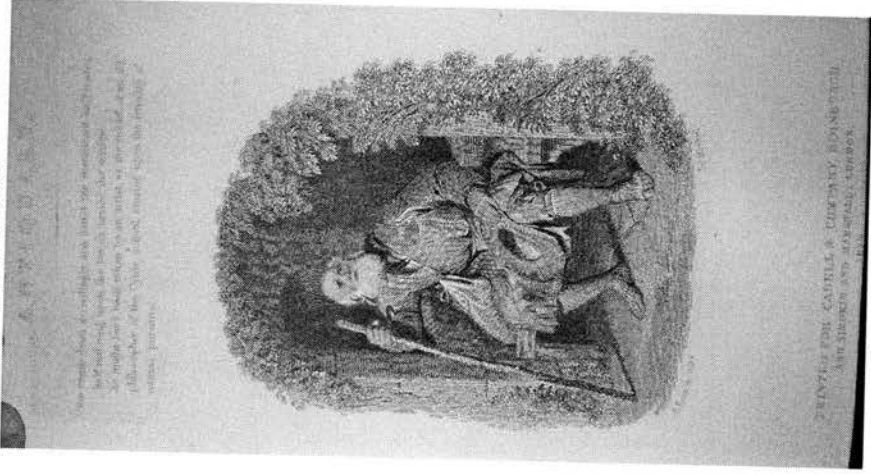
Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. VI.

Title: ““You will find them but samples of womankind—But here they be, Mr. Lovel. I present you, in due order, my most discreet sister Griselda”—“And my most exquisite niece Maria, whose mother was called Mary, and sometimes Molly.””

Artist: F. P. Stephanoff

Engraver: J. Romney

Plate 6:12



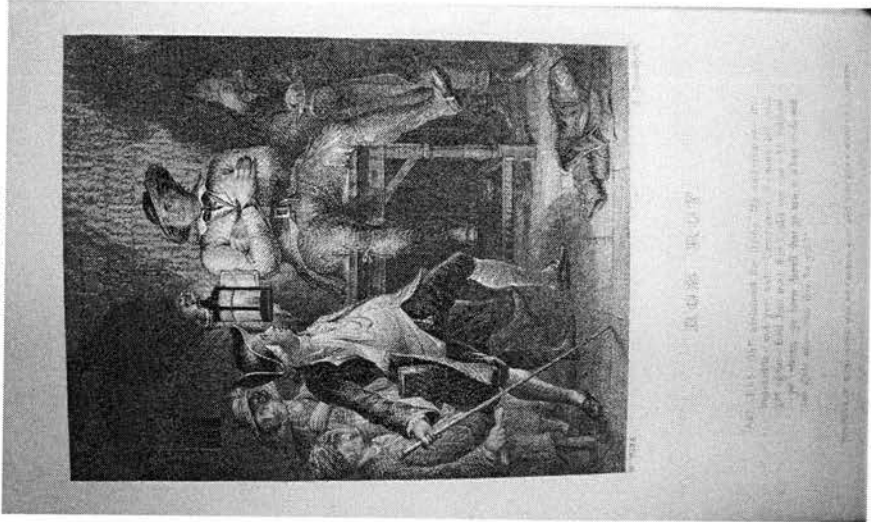
Novel: *The Antiquary*, vol. VI.

Title: “She came down accordingly, and found the mendicant half-seated, half-reclining upon a bench beside the window. —he might have been taken by an artist as the model of an old philosopher of the Cynic school, musing upon the frivolity of mortal pursuits.”

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: Ja.s Mitchell

Plate 6:13



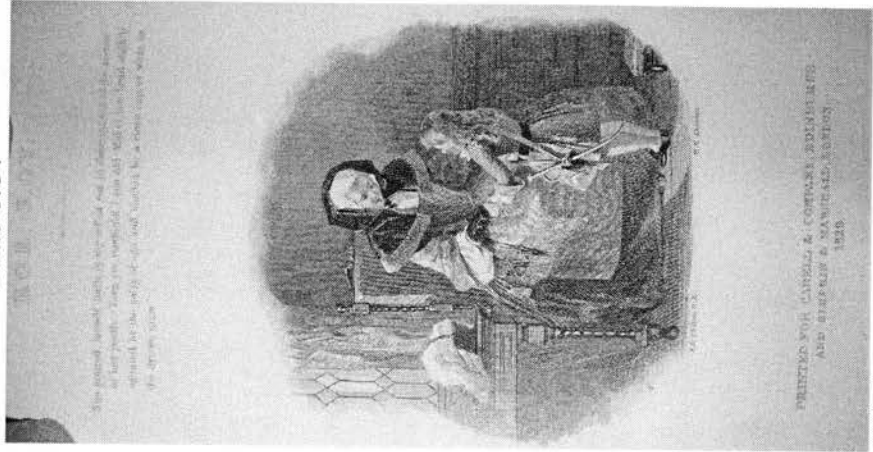
Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VII.

Title: ““Ah!—Eh!—Oh!”—exclaimed the Bailie. “My conscience!—it’s impossible—and yet no!—Conscience, it canna be!—and yet again—Deil hae me! that I suld say sae—Ye robber—ye cateran—ye born devil that ye are, to a’bad ends and nae gude ane—can this be you?””

Artist: S. Davenport

Engraver: W. Kidd

Plate 6:14



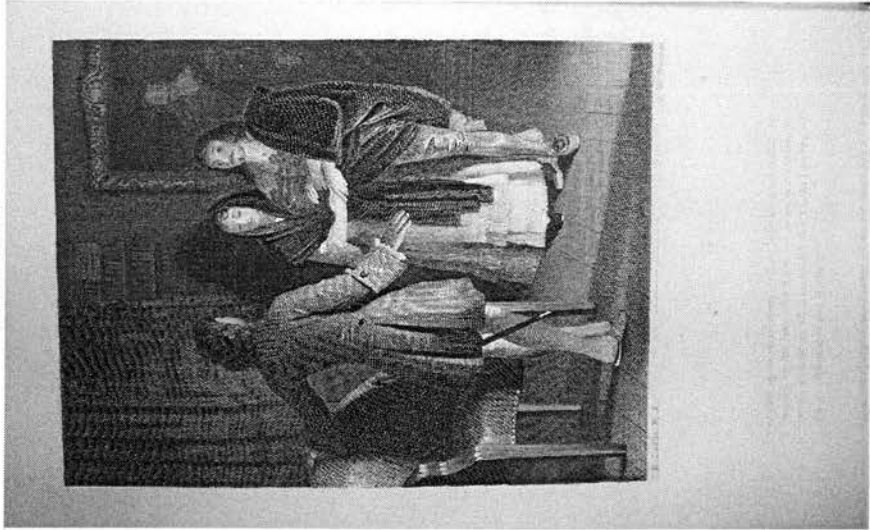
Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VII.

Title: “She poured herself forth to my infant ear in descriptions of the scenes of her youth.—Even yet, methinks I see old Mabel, her head slightly agitated, by the palsy of age, and shaded by a close cap, as white as the driven snow.”

Artist: A. E. Chalon

Engraver: H. C. Shenton

Plate 6:15



Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VIII.

Title: “I started up in amazement—Diana Vernon stood before me, resting on the arm of a figure so strongly resembling that of the portrait so often mentioned, that I looked hastily at the frame, expecting to see it empty.”

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: A. W. Warren

Plate 6:16



Novel: *Rob Roy*, vol. VIII.

Title: ““I wadna hae kenn’d the creature”, said Mr. Jarvie; nor indeed was it easy to recognize the wild Highlander attired in a hat, periwig, and riding-coat, which had once called Andrew Fairservice master, and mounted on the Bailie’s horse, and leading mine. He received his last orders to avoid certain places and to await our coming at an appointed place near the Ferry of Ballock.”

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: W. Raddon

Plate 6:17



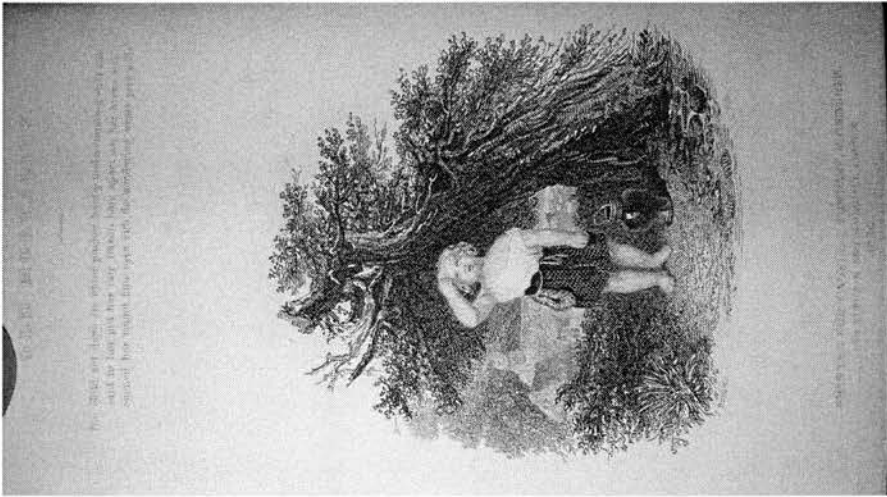
Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. IX.

Title: "Old Mortality". Page 353 Vol.IX"

Artist: D. Wilkie

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:18



Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. IX.

Title: "The child set down its water pitcher, hardly understanding what was said to her, put her flaxen hair apart on her brows, and opened her round blue eyes with the wondering "whats yere wull?"'"

Artist: J. Burnet

Engraver: C. Fox

Plate 6:19



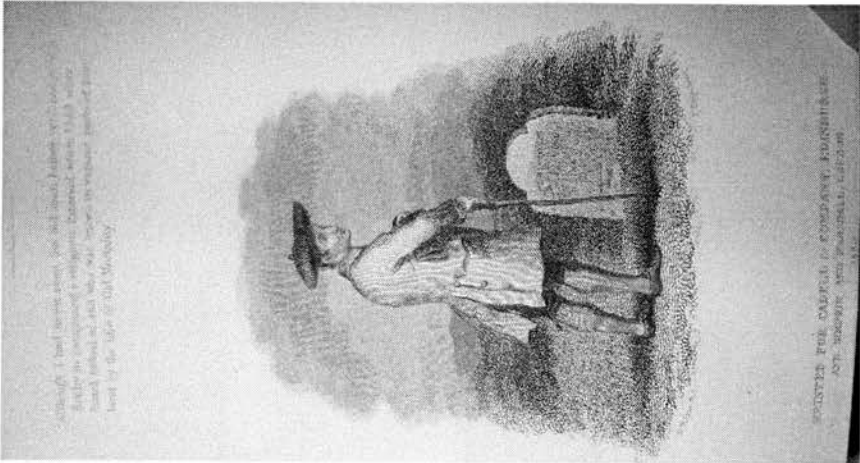
Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. X.

Title: “Old Mortality. Page 120, Vol.X”

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: Charles Rolls

Plate 6:20



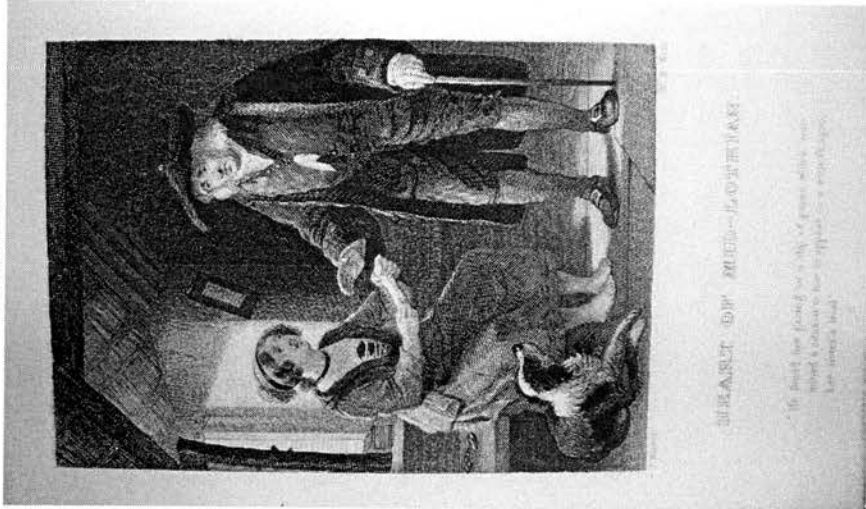
Novel: *Old Mortality*, vol. X.

Title: “Although I had never seen the old man before, yet I had no difficulty in recognizing a religious itinerant whom I had often heard talked of and who was known in various parts of Scotland by the title of Old Mortality.”

Artist: D. Wilkie

Engraver: F. Engleheart

Plate 6:21



Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XI.

Title: "He found her gazing on a slip of paper, which contained a citation to her to appear as a witness upon her sister's trial."

Artist: J. Burnet

Engraver: W. H. Watt

Plate 6:22



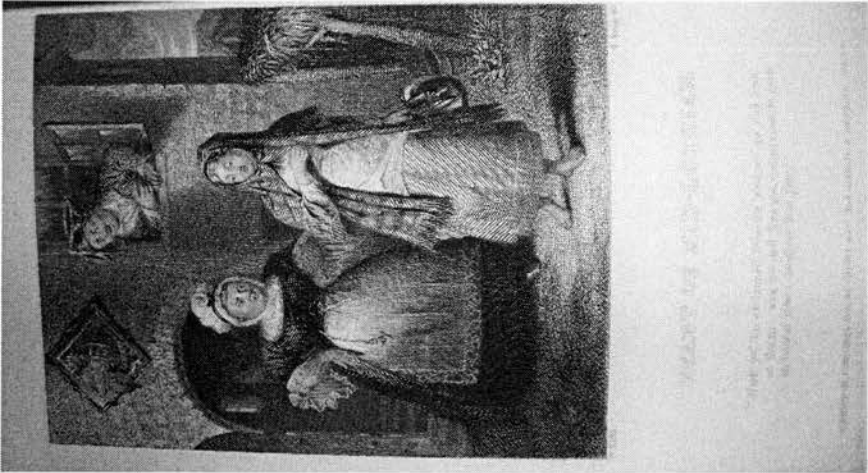
Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XI.

Title: "'There's just twenty five guineas o't' said Dumbiedykes, with a gentle sigh, 'and whether your father pays or disna pay, I make ye free till't without another word.'"

Artist: Alex.r Fraser

Engraver: Wm. Finden

Plate 6:23



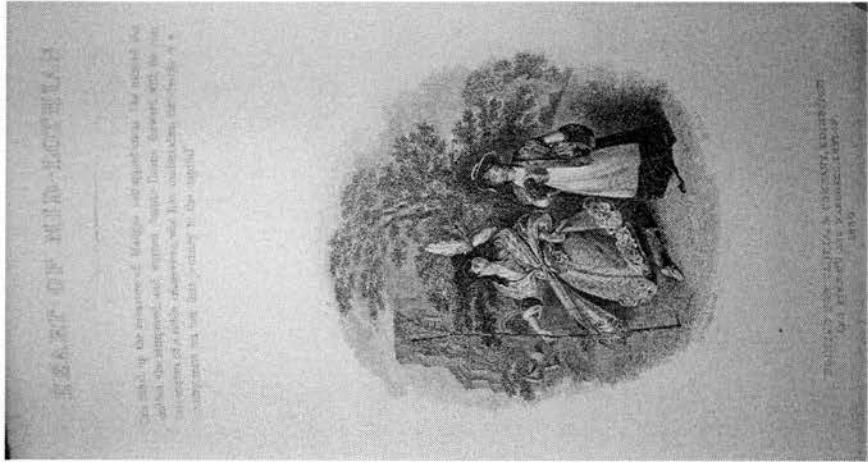
Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XII.

Title: ““Hark ye”, he exclaimed from the window, “ye auld limb of Satan—wha the deil gies you commission to guide an honest man’s daughter that gate?””

Artist: W. Kidd

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:24



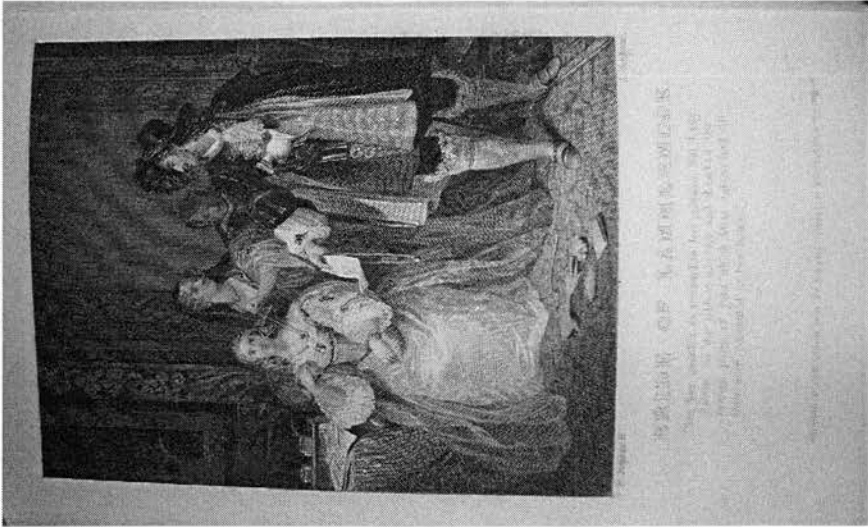
Novel: *The Heart of Midlothian*, vol. XII.

Title: “This filled up the measure of Madge’s self approbation. She minced, she ambled, she simpered, and waived Jeanie Deans forward with the condescension of a noble *chaperone*, who has undertaken the charge of a country miss on her first journey to the capital.”

Artist: Ja.s Stephanoff

Engraver: H. Rolls

Plate 6:25



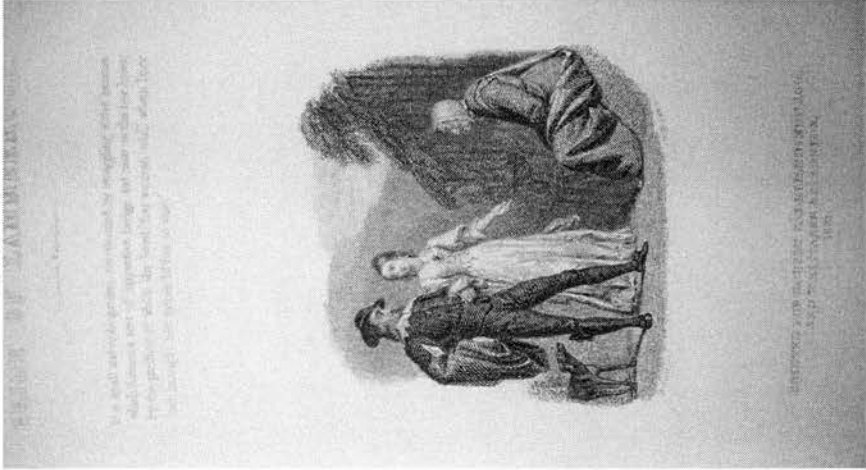
Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*, vol. XIII.

Title: "She was enabled to accomplish her purpose, but Lady Ashton cut the ribbon asunder and detached the broken piece of gold which Miss Ashton had till then worn concealed under her bosom."

Artist: F. P. Stephanoff

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:26



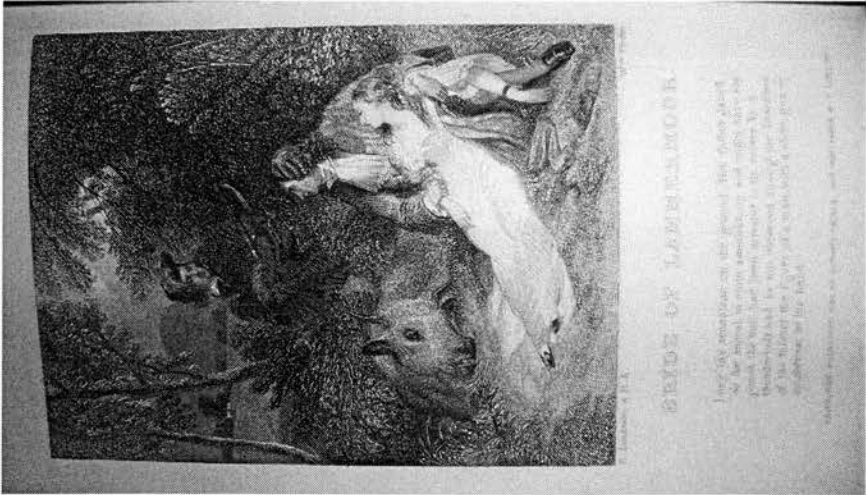
Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*, vol. XIII.

Title: "In a small and rude garden, surrounded by straggling elder bushes, which formed a sort of unperfect hedge, sat near to the bee hives, by the produce of which she lived, "that woman old," whom Lucy had brought her father hither to visit."

Artist: R. Fraser

Engraver: W. Ensom

Plate 6:27



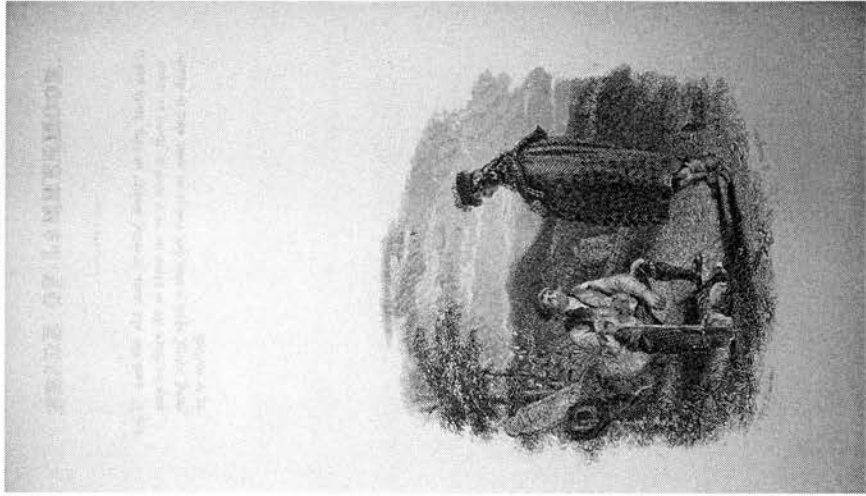
Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*, vol. XIV.

Title: “Lucy lay senseless on the ground. Her father gazed on the animal, in mute astonishment, and might have supposed the bull had been arrested in its career by a thunderbolt, had he not observed among the branches of the thicket a figure of a man, with a short gun or musketoon in his hand.”

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: Wm. Finden

Plate 6:28



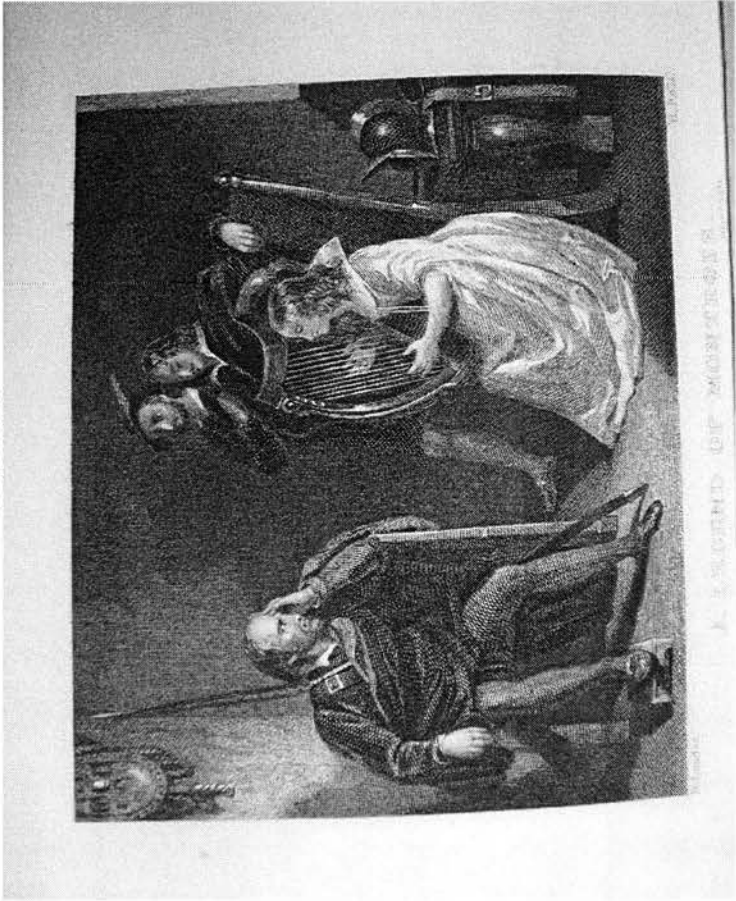
Novel: *The Bride of Lammermoor*, vol. XIV.

Title: “‘Am I?’ said the old man, looking keenly at him, ‘troth and it may be since as brent as your brow is there is something sitting upon it this day that is as near akin to death as to wedlock.’”

Artist: Thos. Duncan

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:29



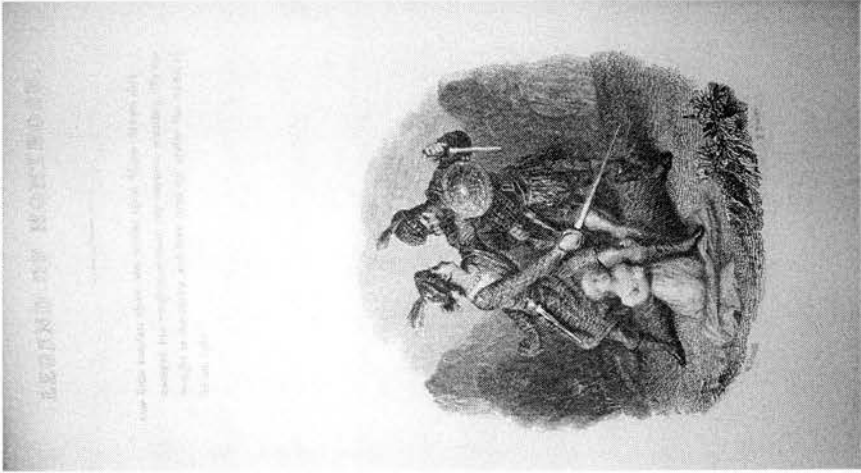
Novel: *A Legend of Montrose*, vol. XV.

Title: “A Legend of Montrose. Page 127, Vol. XV”

Artist: R. Lauder

Engraver: H. Rolls

Plate 6:30

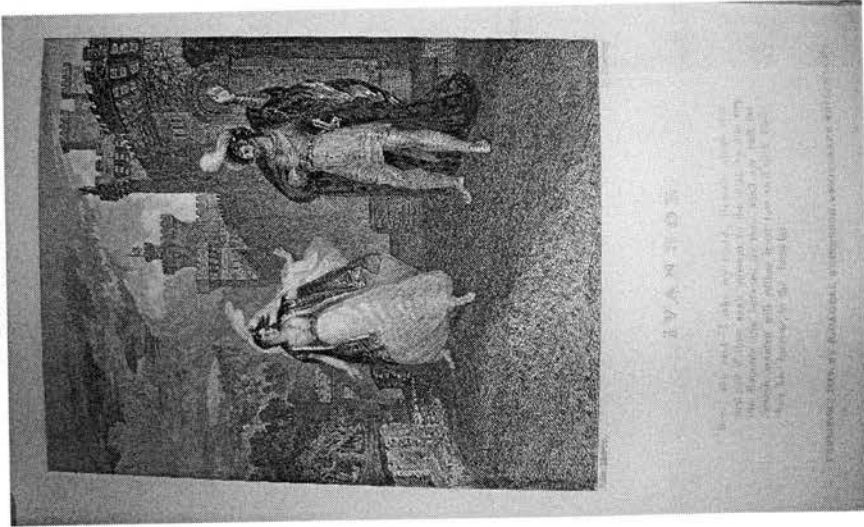


Novel: *A Legend of Montrose*, vol. XV.

Title: “One little maiden who smiled upon Allan’s drawn dirk escaped his vengeance upon my earnest entreaty. She was brought to the castle and here bred up under the name of Annot Lyle.”

Artist: W. Boxall

Engraver: F. Bacon



Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. XVI.

Title: ““Here,” she said “I take my stand. Remain where thou art and if thou shalt attempt to diminish by one step the distance now between us, thou shalt see that the Jewish maiden will rather trust her soul with God than her honour to the Templar.””

Artist: John Martin

Engraver: E. Portbury

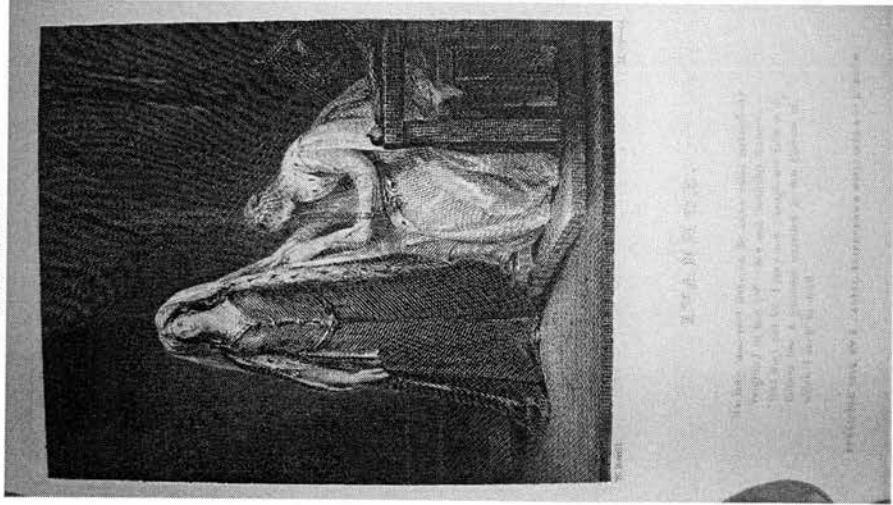


Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. XVI.

Title: ““Gurth” said the Jester, “I know thou thinkest me a fool, or thou wouldst not be so rash in putting thy head into my mouth.” “Dog thou wouldst not betray me,” said Gurth. “Betray thee!” answered the Jester, “no, that were the trick of a wise man.””

Artist: J. Cawse

Engraver: W. J. Taylor

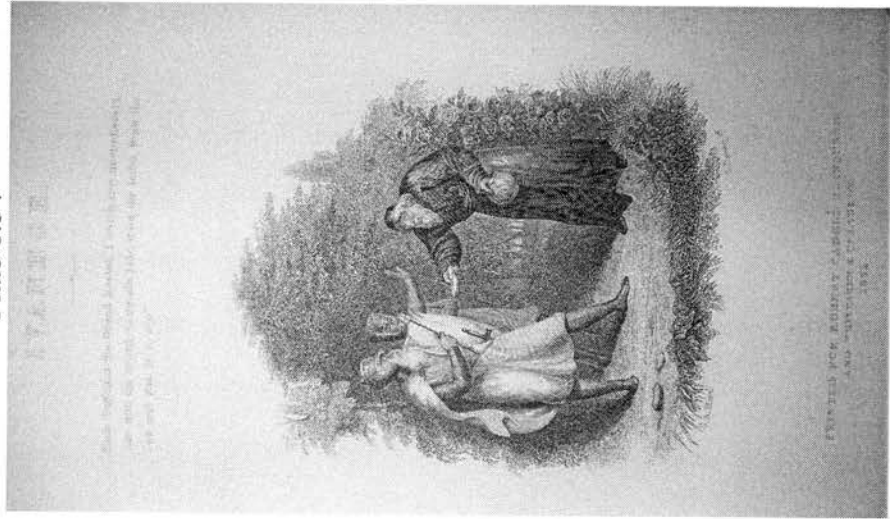


Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. XVI.

Title: ““No Lady,” answered Rebecca, the same calm melancholy reigning in her soft voice and beautiful features—“that may not be, I may not change the faith of my fathers like a garment unsuited to the climate in which I seek to dwell.””

Artist: W. Boxall

Engraver: R. Graves

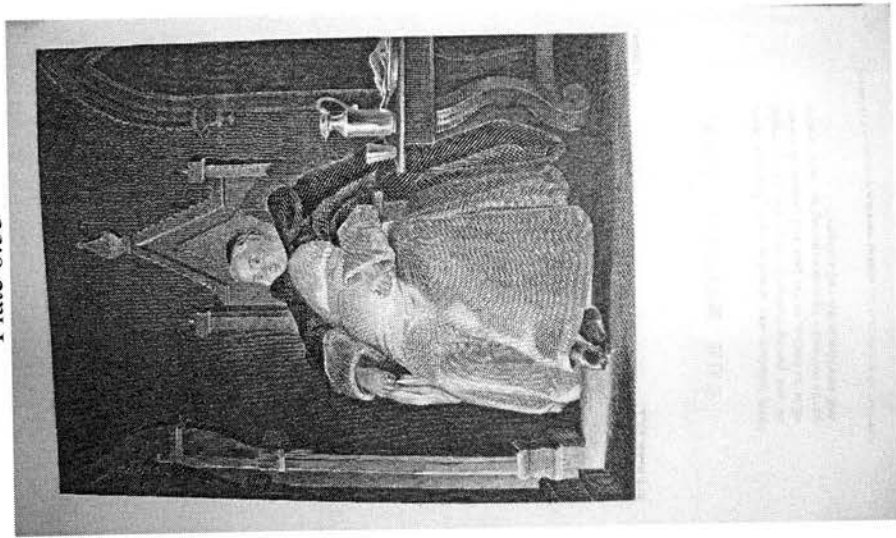


Novel: *Ivanhoe*, vol. XVI.

Title: ““Back dog!” said the Grand Master, “I touch not misbelievers, save with the sword.—Conrade, take thou the letter from the Jew, and give it to me.””

Artist: S. A. Hart

Engraver: S. Davenport



Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. XVIII.

Title: "Abbot Boniface was seated in his high backed chair. He was gazing indolently on the fire, partly engaged in meditation on his past and present fortunes, partly occupied by endeavouring to trace towers and steeples in the red embers."

Artist: G. S. Newton

Engraver: E. Finden

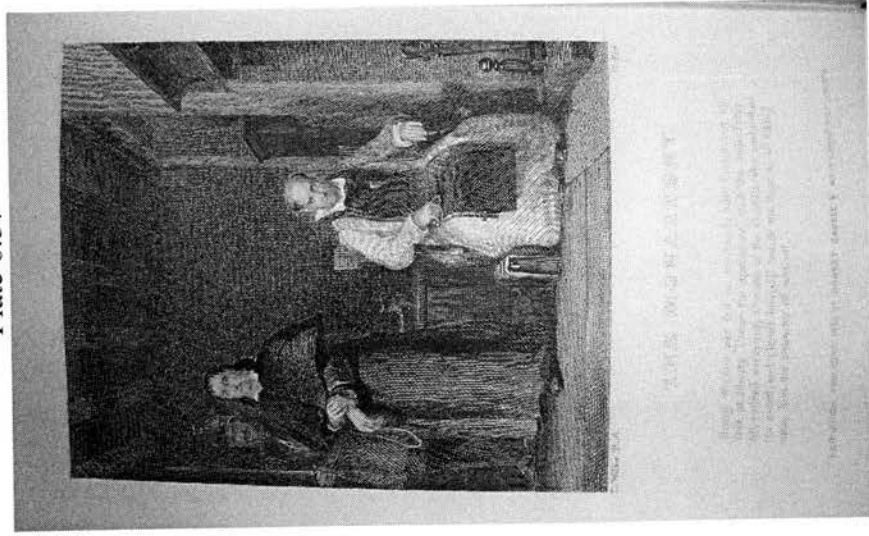


Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. XVIII.

Title: "The exiled family then set forward. Mary Avenel, riding gipsy fashion upon the Shagram, the Lady of Avenel walking by the animal's side, Tibb leading the bridle, and old Martin walking before, looking a little anxiously around him to explore the way."

Artist: A. Chiselm

Engraver: T. S. Engleheart



Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. XIX

Title: "Henry Warden was led in, his hands still bound, but his feet at liberty. "Clear the apartment," said the Sub-Prior. All retired excepting Christie of the Clinthill, who unsheathed his sword, and placed himself beside the door, as if taking upon him the character of centinel."

Artist: D. Wilkie

Engraver: C. Fox

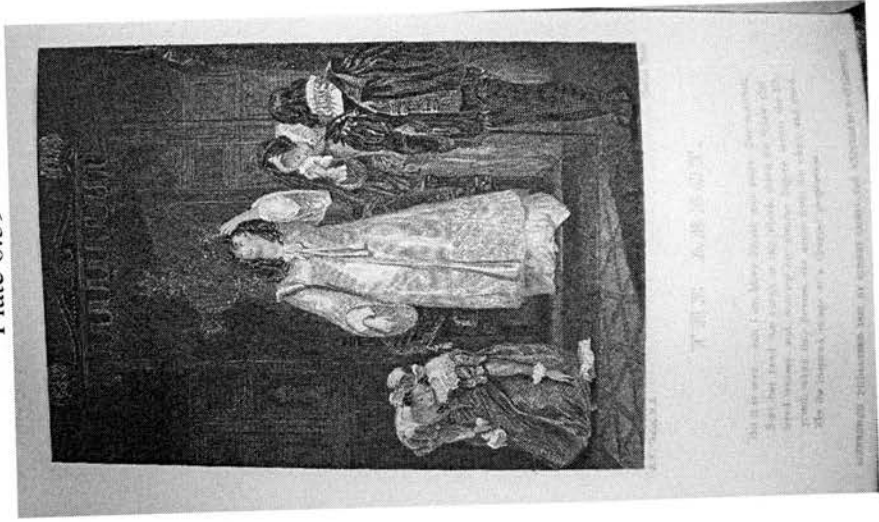


Novel: *The Monastery*, vol. XIX.

Title: "He was courteous, however, and offered Halbert a share of the provision which he carried about him for refreshment. They were of the coarsest kind—oat-bread baked into cakes, oat-meal slaked with cold water, an onion or two, and a morsel of smoked ham, completed the feast."

Artist: A. Frazer

Engraver: F. Engleheart

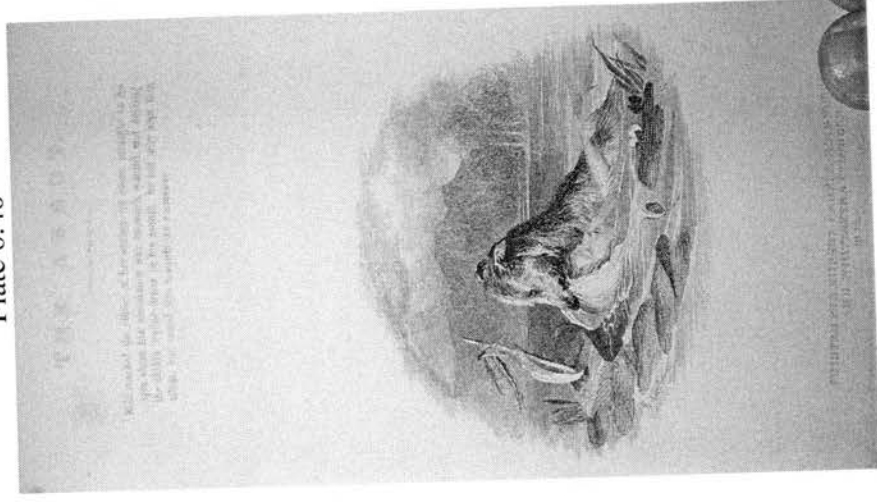


Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. XX.

Title: ““But it is over—and I am Mary Stuart once more.” She snatched from her hand the curch or cap, shook down the thick clustered tresses, and, drawing her slender fingers across the labyrinth which they formed, she arose from the chair, and stood like the inspired image of a Grecian prophetress.”

Artist: A. E. Chalon

Engraver: Charles Heath



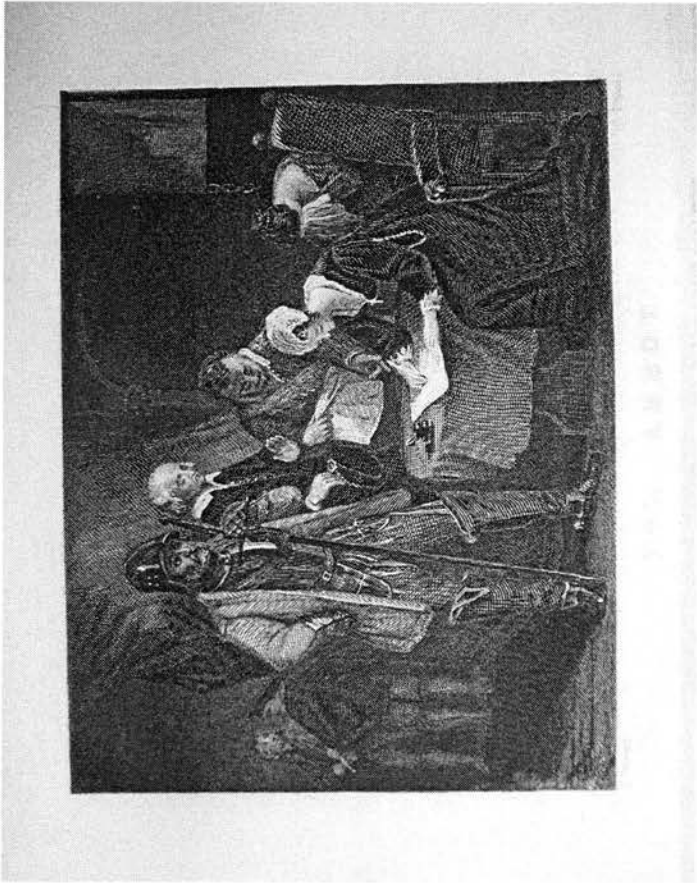
Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. XX.

Title: “Wolf marked the object of her anxiety, he swam straight to the spot where his assistance was so much wanted, and seizing the child’s under-dress in his mouth, he not only kept him afloat, but towed him towards the causeway.”

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: W. H. Watt

Plate 6:41



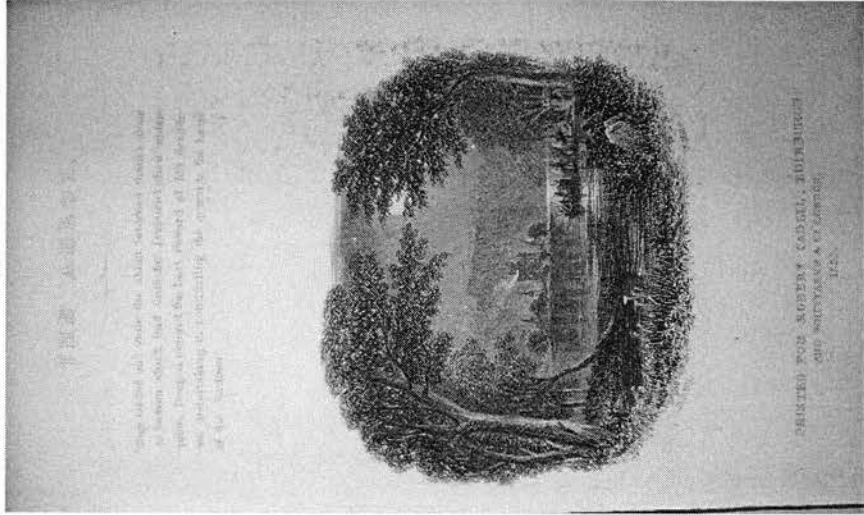
Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. XXI.

Title: "The Abbot"

Artist: J. Burnett

Engraver: W. Finden

Plate 6:42



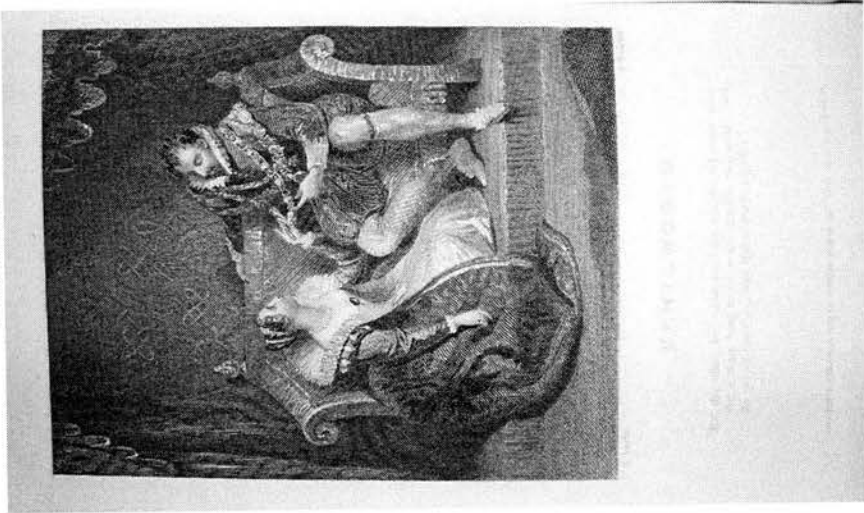
Novel: *The Abbot*, vol. XXI.

Title: "They landed, and while the Abbot returned thanks aloud to heaven, which had thus far favoured their enterprise. Douglas enjoyed the best reward of his desperate undertaking the queen to the house of the Gardiner."

Artist: D. O. Hill

Engraver: W. Miller

Plate 6:43



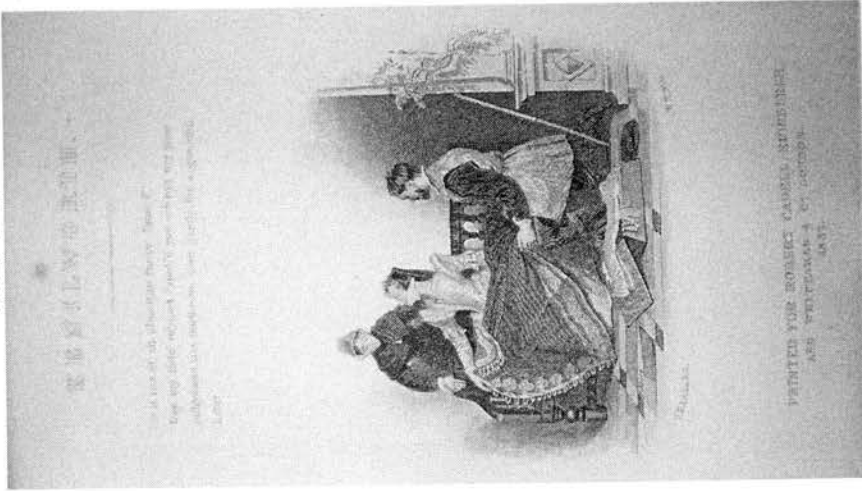
Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. XXII.

Title: ““But this other fair collar, so richly wrought, with some jewel like a sheep hung by the middle attached to it, what,” said the young Countess, “does that emblem signify?””

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:44



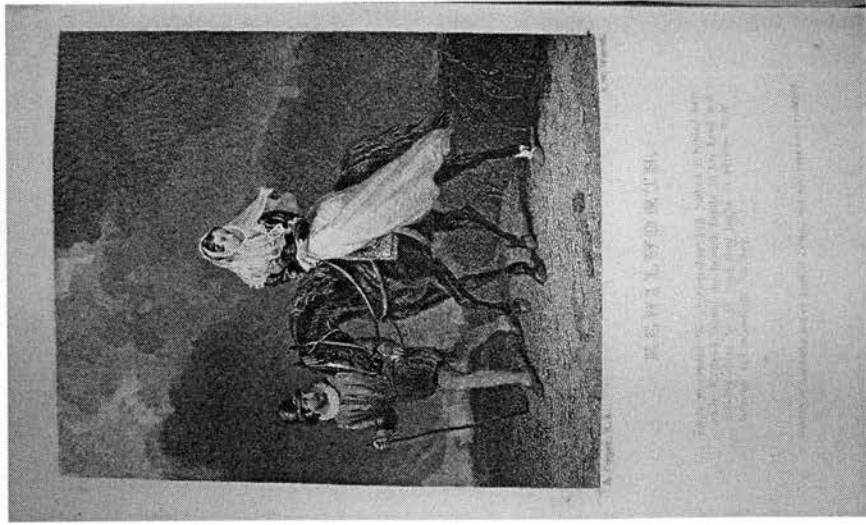
Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. XXII.

Title: ““Is it not an absolute fancy, Janet?”
““Nay, my lady,” replied Janet, “if you consult my poor judgement, it is, methinks, over gawdy for a graceful habit.””

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: W. H. Watt

Plate 6:45



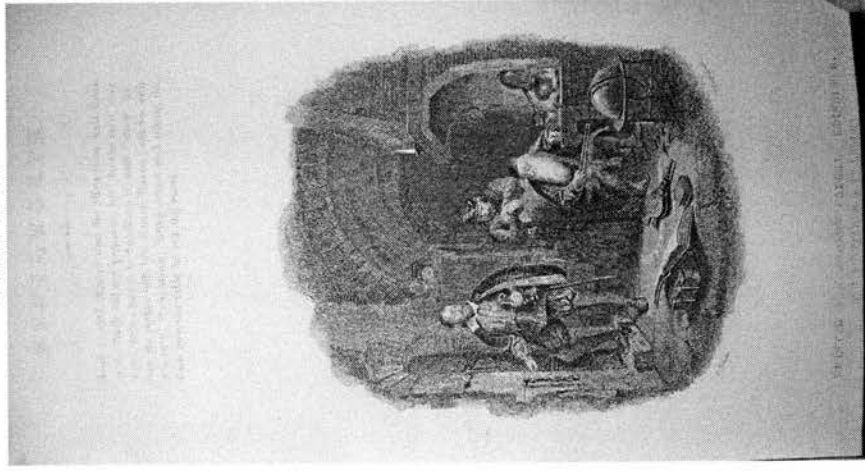
Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. XXIII.

Title: "Janet re-entered the postern-door, and locked it behind her, while Wayland, taking the horses bridle in his hand, and walking close by its head, they began in silence their dubious and moonlight journey."

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: A. W. Warren

Plate 6:46



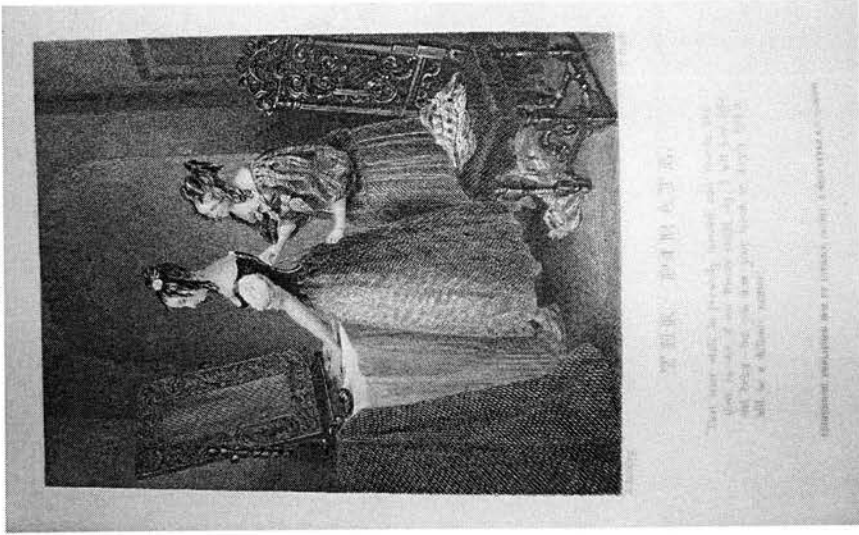
Novel: *Kenilworth*, vol. XXIII.

Title: "'I swear it," said Alasco, "that the elixir thou hast there in the flask will not prejudice life!" "Foster, thou wert worse than a pagan to disbelieve it", said Varney, "debate the matter with him, Doctor Alasco, I will be with you anon". So speaking, Varney arose, and, taking the flask from the table, he left the room."

Artist: A. Frazer

Engraver: T. Engleheart

Plate 6:47



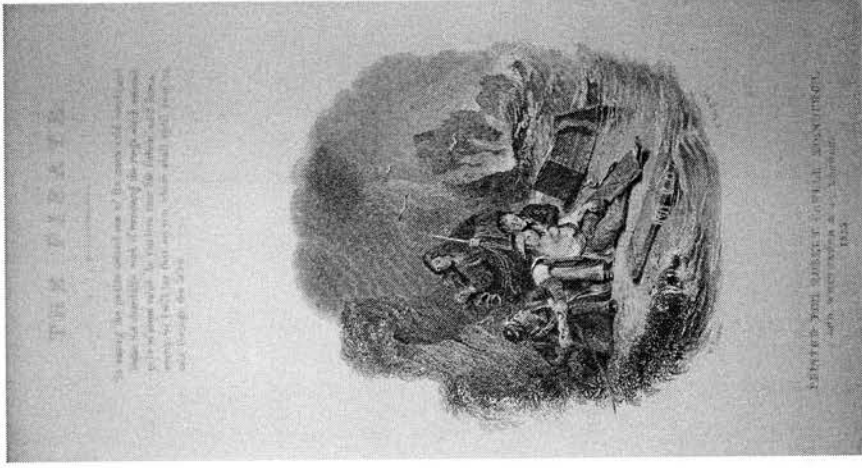
Novel: *The Pirate*, vol. XXIV.

Title: ““That error shall be presentaly mended”, said Brenda, “and then, as one of our friends might say, I will haul tight and belay—but you draw your breath so deeply, that it will be a difficult matter.””

Artist: J. Inskipp

Engraver: C. Rolls

Plate 6:48



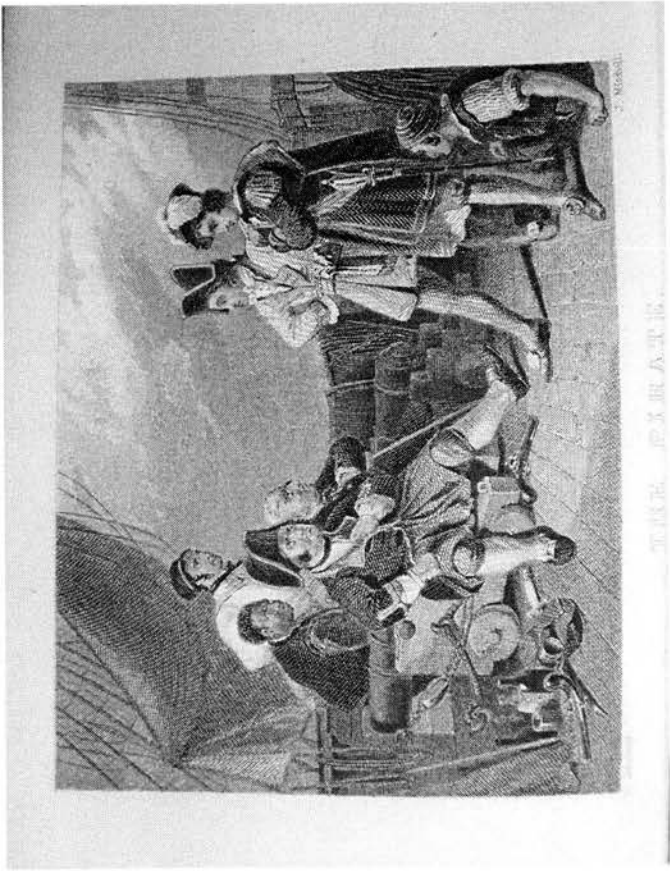
Novel: *The Pirate*, vol. XXIV.

Title: “So saying, the pedlar seized one of the man’s cold hands, and began his charitable work of removing the rings, which seemed to be of some value. “As you love your life, forbear,” said Norma, sternly, “or I will lay that on you which shall spoil your travels through the Isles.””

Artist: W. Fraser

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:49



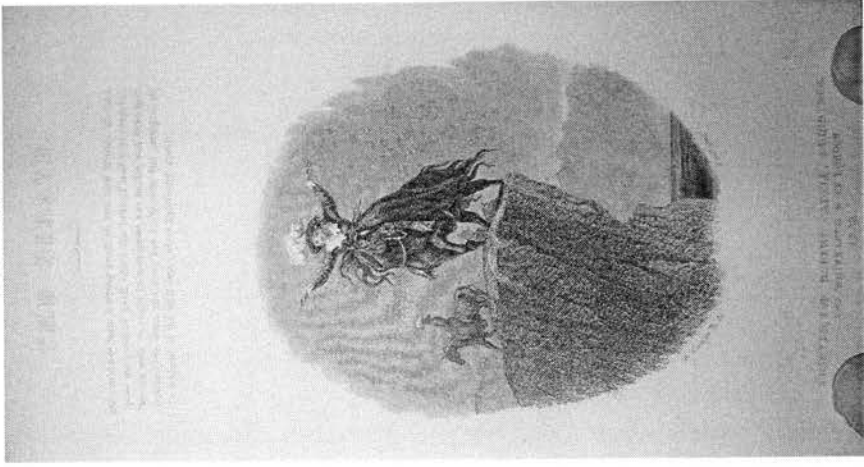
Novel: *The Pirate*, vol. XXV.

Title: "The Pirate"

Artist: C. Stanfield

Engraver: J. Mitchell

Plate 6:50



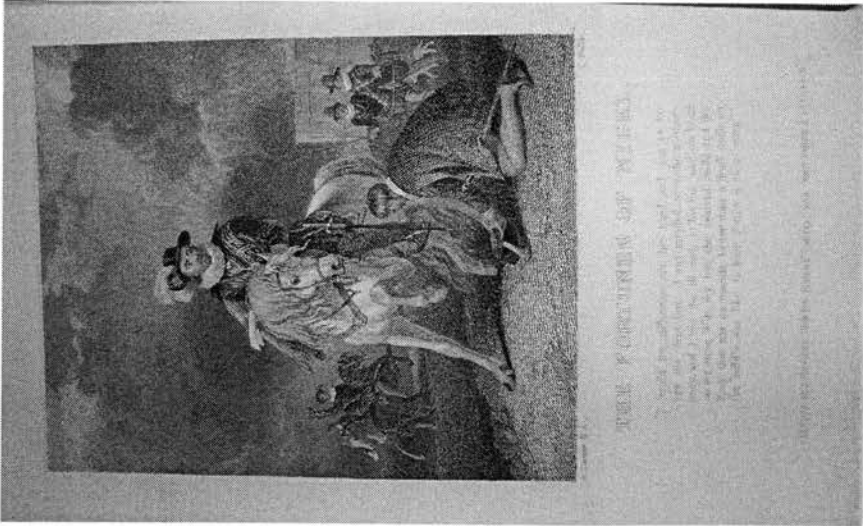
Novel: *The Pirate*, vol. XXV.

Title: "She could not help looking back to see how Minna should pass the point of peril, which she herself had just rounded, Minna, with an eager look dropped her bridle, and stretched forward her arms, and even her body, over the precipice in the attitude of a wild swan, when balancing itself."

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: Freebairn

Plate 6:51



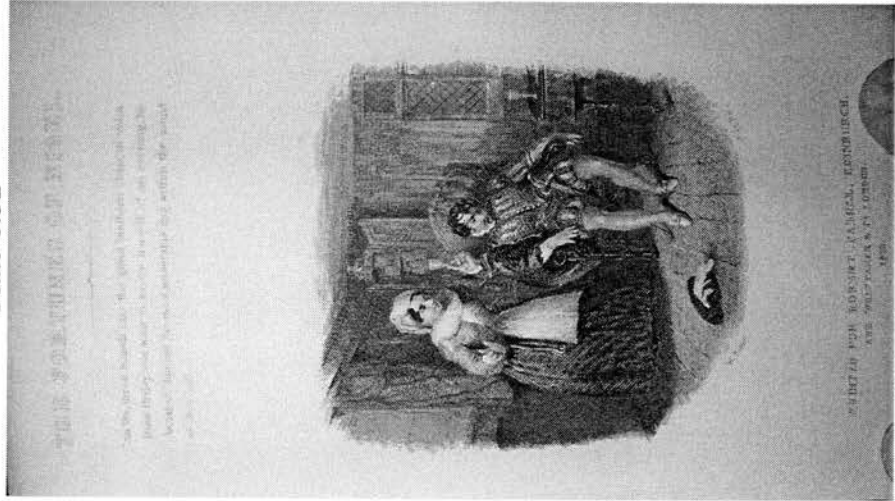
Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. XXVI.

Title: ““I cramm’d the sifflication into his hand, and just as he saw the first line, I was minded to make a reverence, and I had the ill luck to hit his jaud o’a beast on the nose with my hat, she swarved aside, and the King, that sits na muckle better than a draff pock on the saddle, was like to have gotten a clean coup.””

Artist: A. Cooper

Engraver: C. Rolls

Plate 6:52



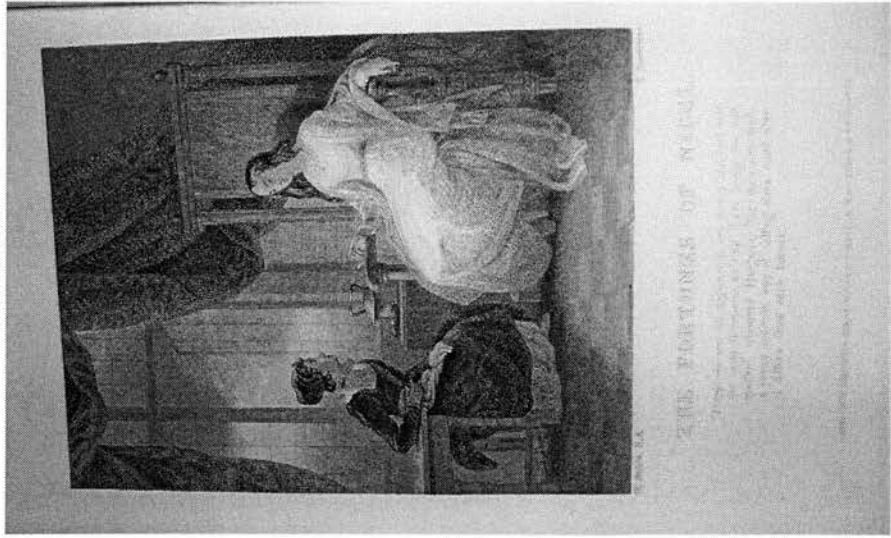
Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. XXVI.

Title: ““Jin Vin, threw himself into the great leathern chair, in which Dame Ursley was wont to solace herself of an evening, he declared “himself the most miserable dog within the sound of Bow bell.””

Artist: W. Boxall

Engraver: Aug.s Fox

Plate 6:53



Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. XXVII.

Title: ““Metaphors are no arguments, my pretty maiden,” said the Lady Hermione, smiling. “I am sorry for that, madam”, answered Margaret: “for they are such a pretty indirect way of telling one’s mind when it differs from one’s betters.””

Artist: R. Smirk

Engraver: S. Davenport

Plate 6:54



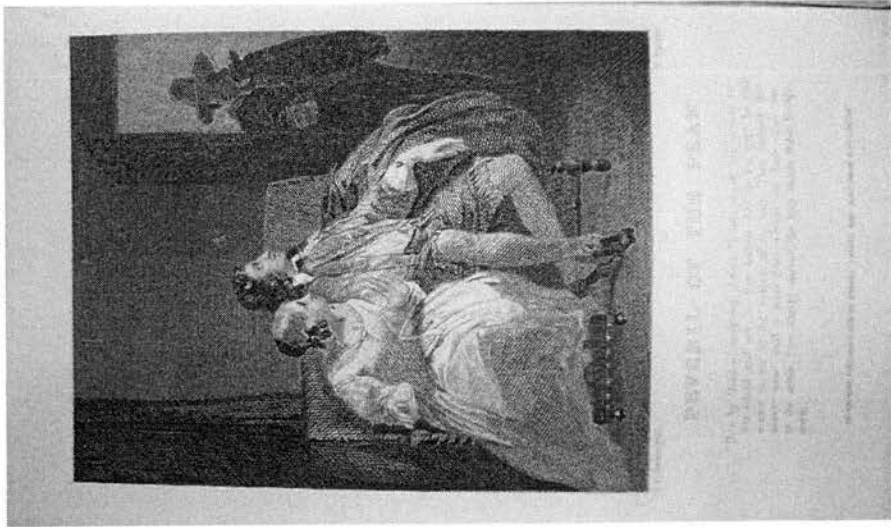
Novel: *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. XXVII.

Title: “The Goldsmith, who had complied with great accuracy with all the prescribed points of the ceremonial, here completed it to James’s no small astonishment by placing in his hand the petition of the Lord of Glenvarloch.”

Artist: J. M. Wright

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:55



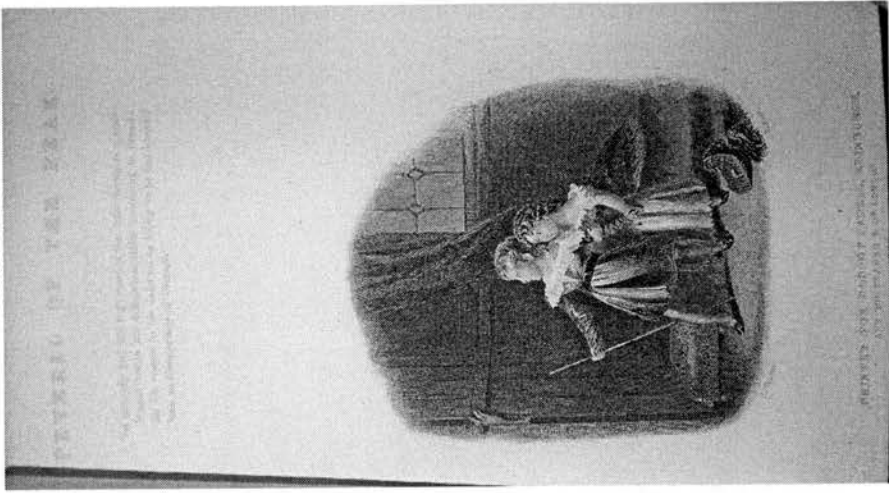
Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXIII.

Title: ““Then, by Heaven”, answered Julian, “I will watch his arrival in this Island, and ere he has locked thee in his arms, he shall answer to me on the subject of my suit”. “Then demand that answer now” said a voice from without the door which was at the same time slowly opened, “for here stands Ralph-Bridgenorth”.”

Artist: R. P. Bonnington

Engraver: W. Ensom

Plate 6:56



Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXIII.

Title: ““Yet naturally bold and high-spirited, the little champion placed himself beside his defenceless sister, continuing to brandish his weapon in her defence, as boldly as he had himself been an Abencerrage of Grenada.””

Artist: J. Webster

Engraver: F. Bacon

Plate 6:57



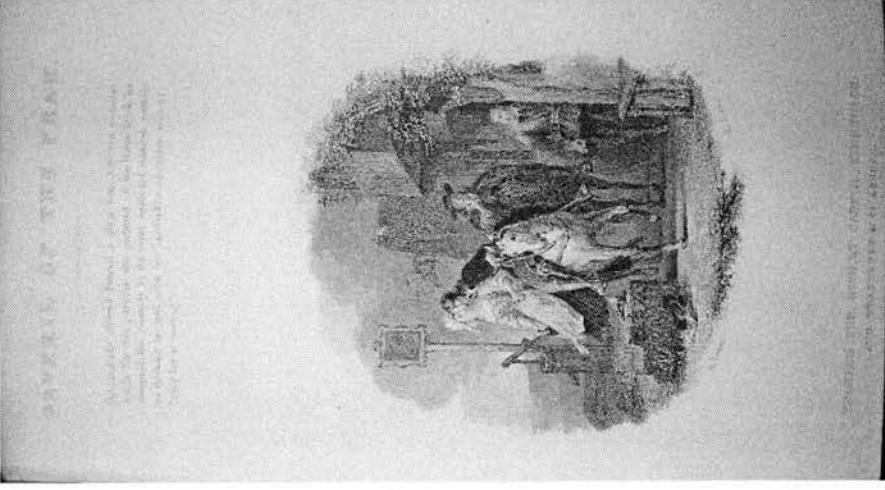
Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXIX.

Title: "A slender foot and ankle, was the only part of her person distinctly seen; the rest was enveloped in a long veil of silver gauze, the whole attire argued at least coquetry on the part of a fair one, and induced Buckingham to smile internally at Christian's account of the extreme simplicity of his niece."

Artist: R. P. Bonnington

Engraver: W. H. Watt

Plate 6:58

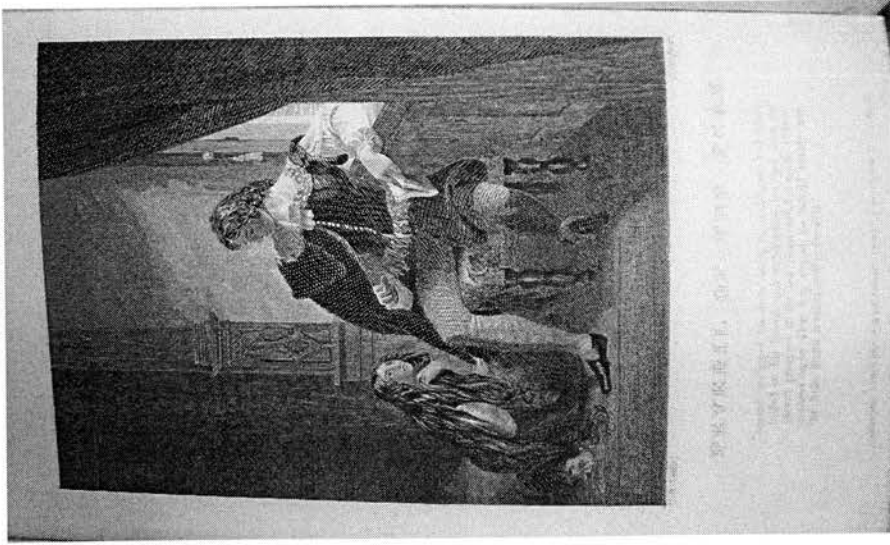


Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXIX.

Title: "The landlady offered Peveril a glass from her own peculiar bottle. For this purpose, she mounted on the horse-block, he returned the courtesy in the most approved manner, namely, by throwing his arm over his landlady's shoulder, and saluting her at parting."

Artist: A. Frazer

Engraver: R. Graves

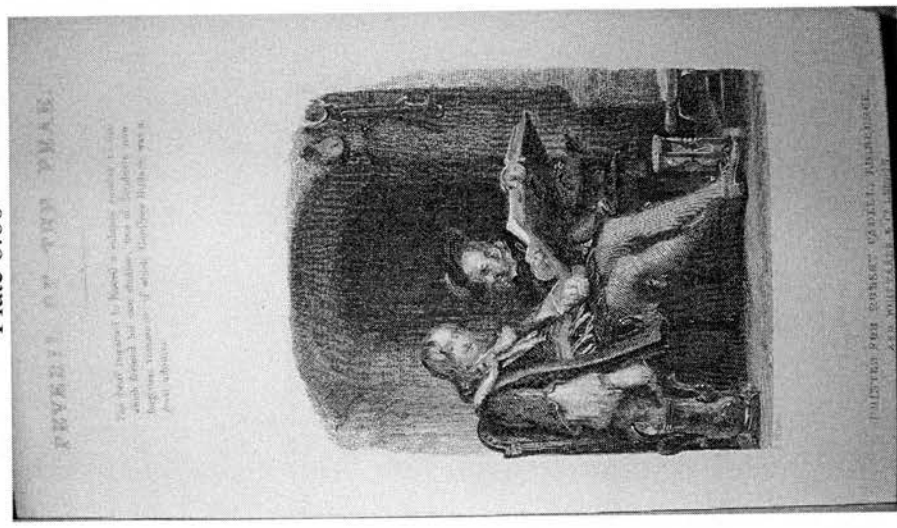


Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXX.

Title: “Peveril unclasped his arms: which, in mediation, had been folded on his bosom; and withdrawing his eyes from the vacant prospect of the sea-coast, without much consciousness upon what they rested, he beheld beside him the little dumb maiden, elfin Fenella.”

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: J. Goodyear



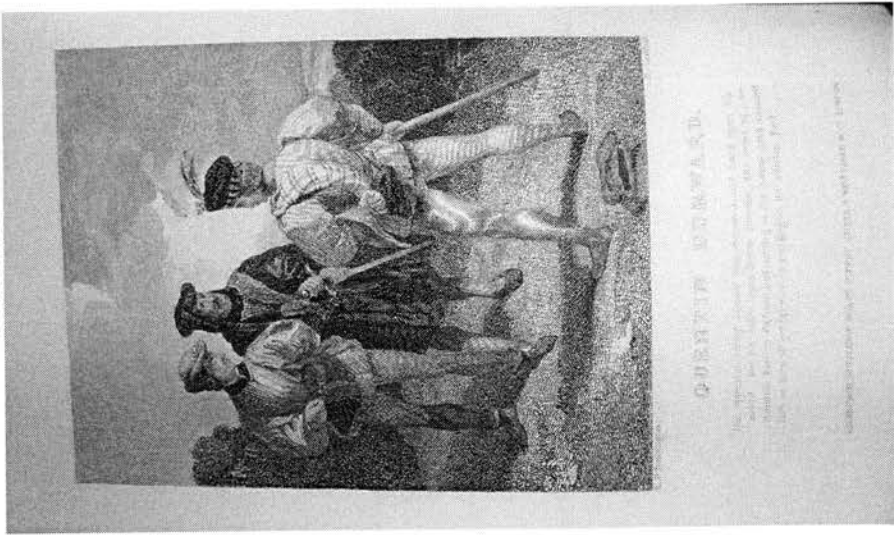
Novel: *Peveril of the Peak*, vol. XXX.

Title: ““The dwarf imparted to Peveril a volume similar to that which formed his own studies, one of Scuderi’s now forgotten romances, of which Geoffrey Hudson was a great admirer.””

Artist: D. Wilkie

Engraver: Chas. Fox

Plate 6:61



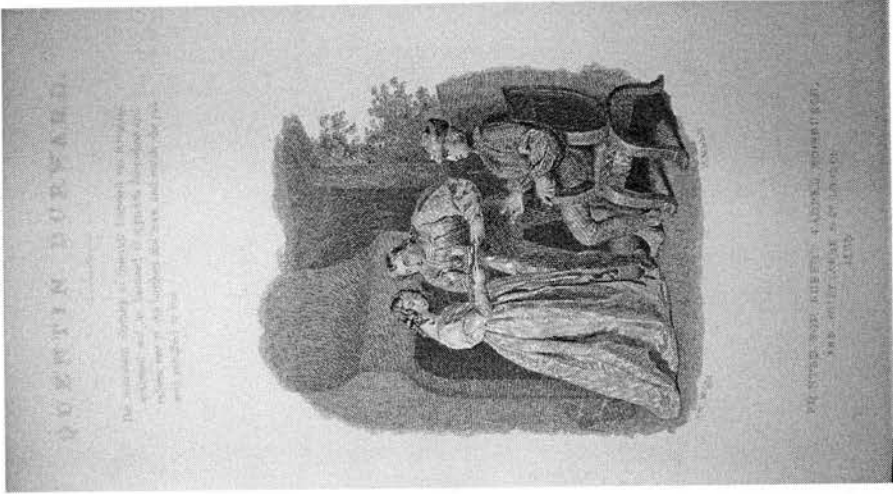
Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. XXXI.

Title: "His opponent, seeing himself thus menaced, laid hand upon his sword, but his more considerate comrade, who came up, commanded him in turn of precipitation in plunging in the swollen ford."

Artist: R. P. Bonnington

Engraver: E. Goodall

Plate 6:62



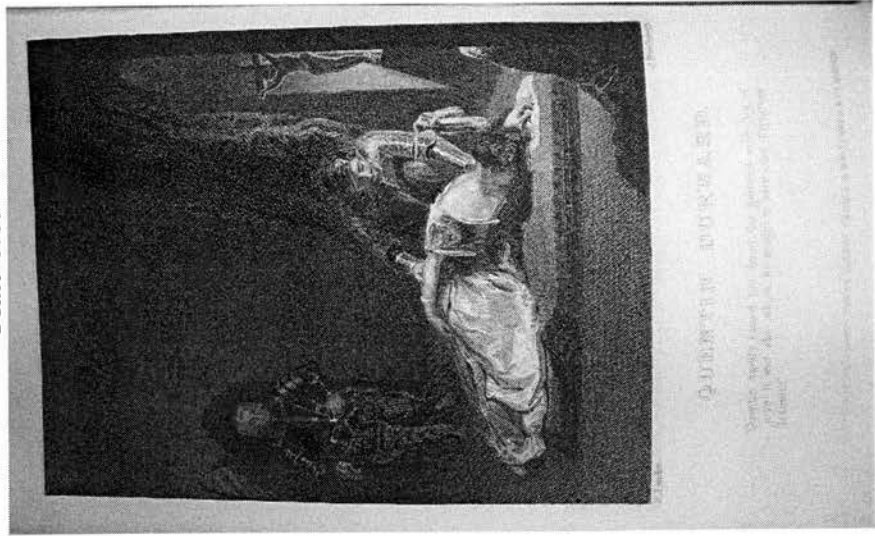
Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. XXXI.

Title: "The mountain chivalry of Quentin Durward was instantly awakened and he hastened to approach Jacqueline and relieve her of the burthen she bore, and which she passively resigned to him."

Artist: J. M. Wright

Engraver: J. Mitchell

Plate 6:63



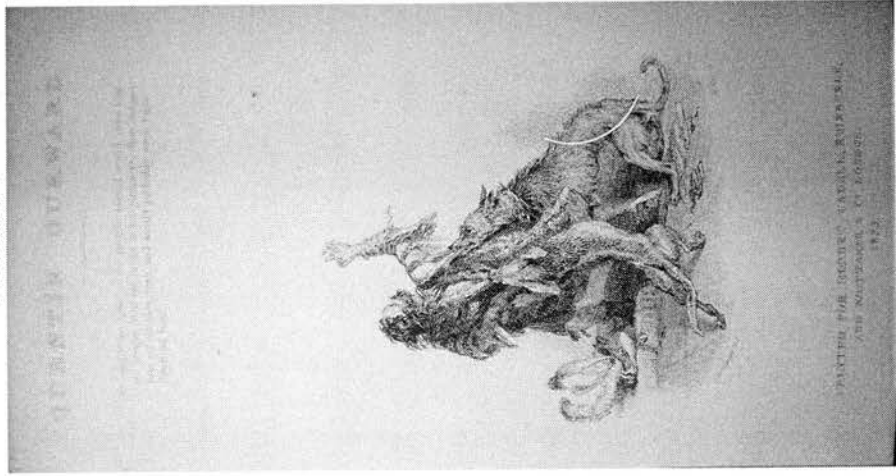
Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. XXXII.

Title: "Quentin hastily raised her from the ground and, joy of joys! it was she whom he sought to save the Countess Isabelle."

Artist: R. Lauder

Engraver: J. Horsburgh

Plate 6:64



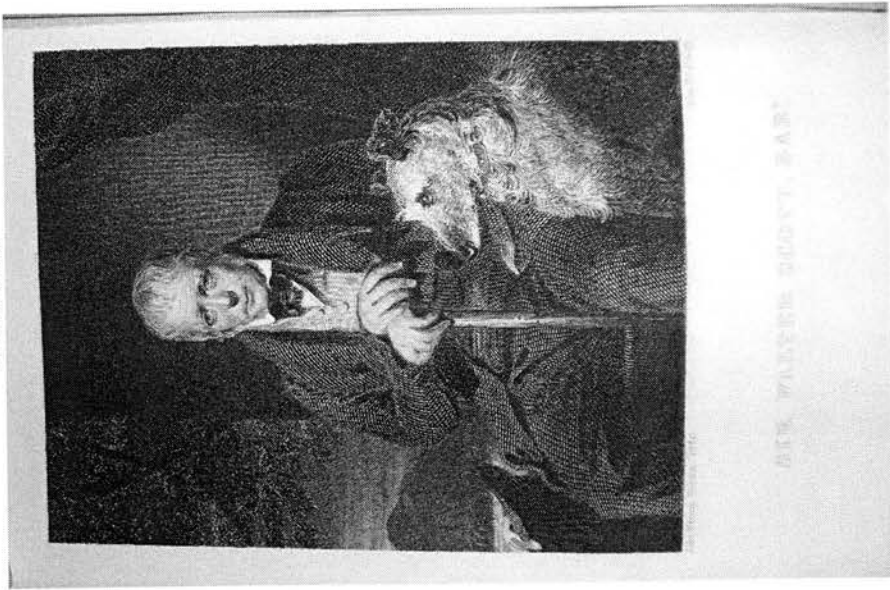
Novel: *Quentin Durward*, vol. XXXII.

Title: "At length the speed of the pseudo herald could save him no longer from the fangs of his pursuers; they seized him, pulled him down, and would probably soon have throttled him."

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:65



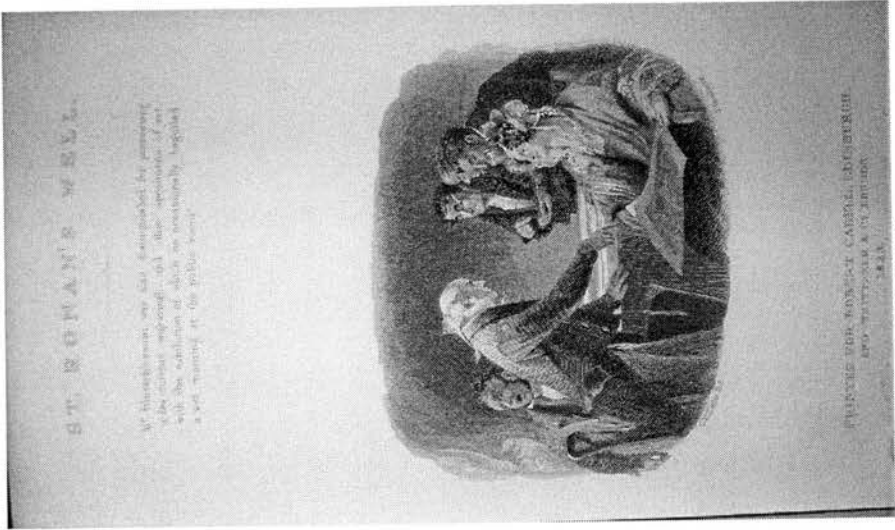
Novel: *St Ronan's Well*, vol. XXXIII.

Title: "Sir Walter Scott, Bart."

Artist: John Watson Gordon

Engraver: John Horsburgh

Plate 6:66



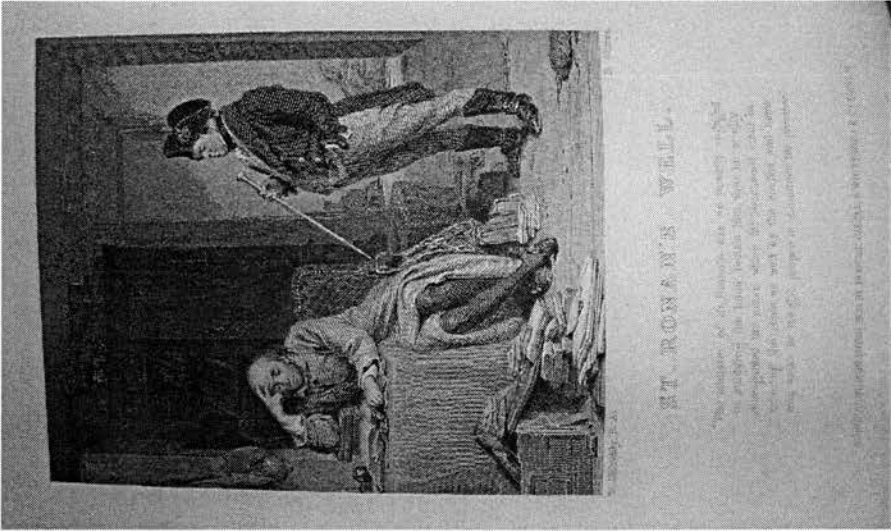
Novel: *St Ronan's Well*, vol. XXXIII.

Title: "Mr Winterblossom was also distinguished for possessing a few engravings, and other specimens of art, with the exhibition of which he occasionally beguiled a wet morning at the public room."

Artist: C. R. Leslie

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:67



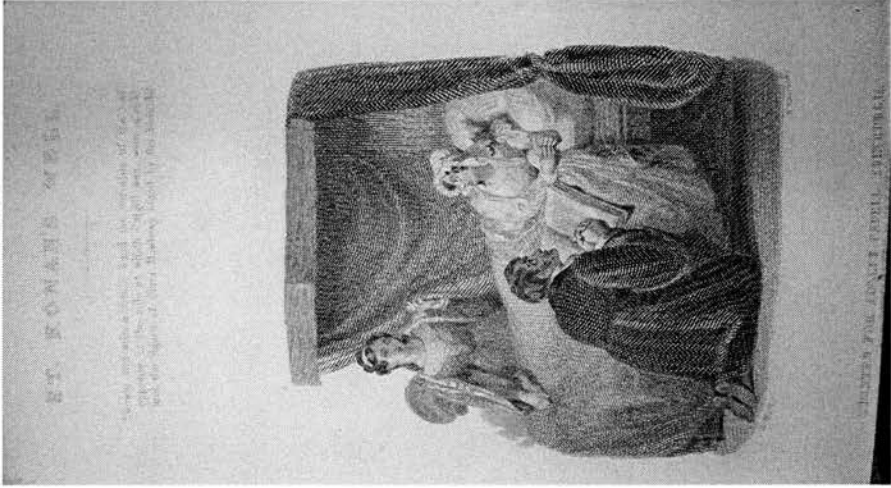
Novel: *St Ronan's Well*, vol. XXXIV.

Title: "The minister of St. Ronan's was so intently engaged in studying the book before him, that he totally disregarded the noise which Mr. Touchwood made in entering the room, as well as the coughs and hems with which he thought proper to announce his presence."

Artist: W. Mulready

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:68



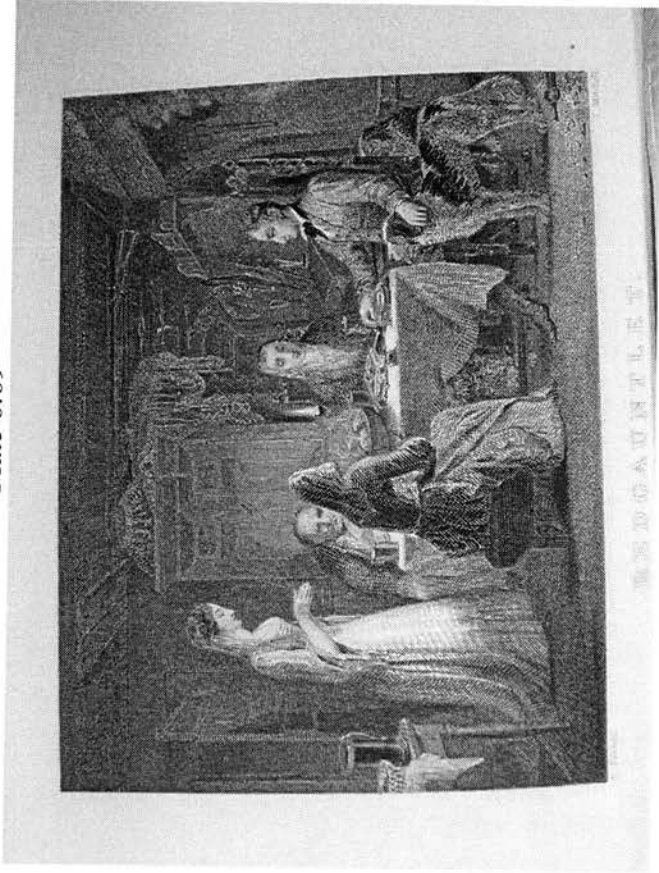
Novel: *St Ronan's Well*, vol. XXXIV.

Title: "Slowly and with a feeble hand the curtains of the bed opposite to the side at which Cargill was, were opened and the figure of Clara Mowbray, stood by the bedside."

Artist: J. Wood

Engraver: W. Chevalier

Plate 6:69



Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. XXXV.

Title: "Redgauntlet"

Artist: A. Fraser

Engraver: J. Mitchell

Plate 6:70



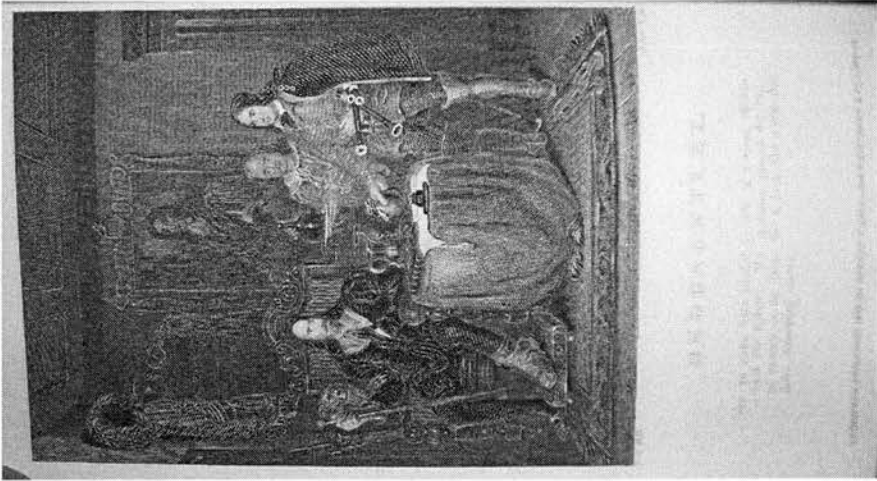
Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. XXXV.

Title: "I was induced at last to lend the rod to the sneering scoundrel, to see what he would make of it, and he not only half filled my basket in an hour but literally taught me to kill two trouts with my own hand."

Artist: J. Inskipp

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:71



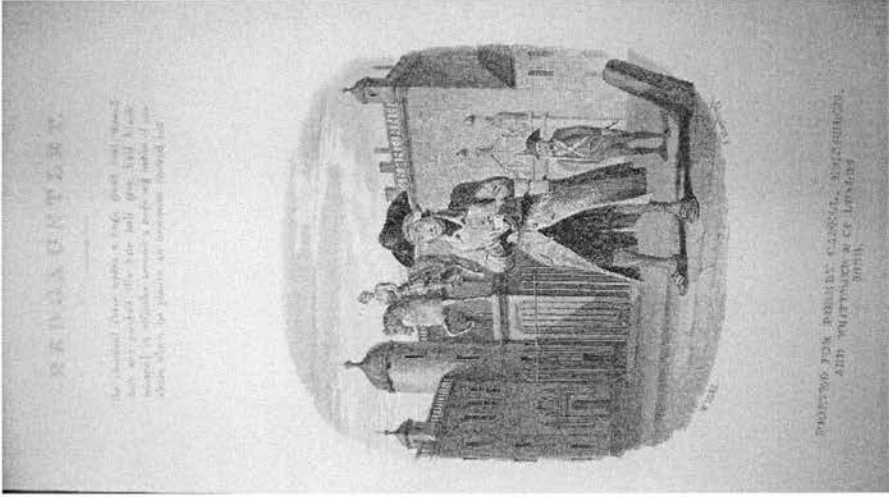
Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. XXXVI.

Title: ““Are ye come light handed, ye son of a toom whistle?” said Sir Robert. “My Gudesire, placed the bag of money on the Table wi’ a daub, like a man that does something clever.””

Artist: D. O. Hill

Engraver: Augs. Fox

Plate 6:72



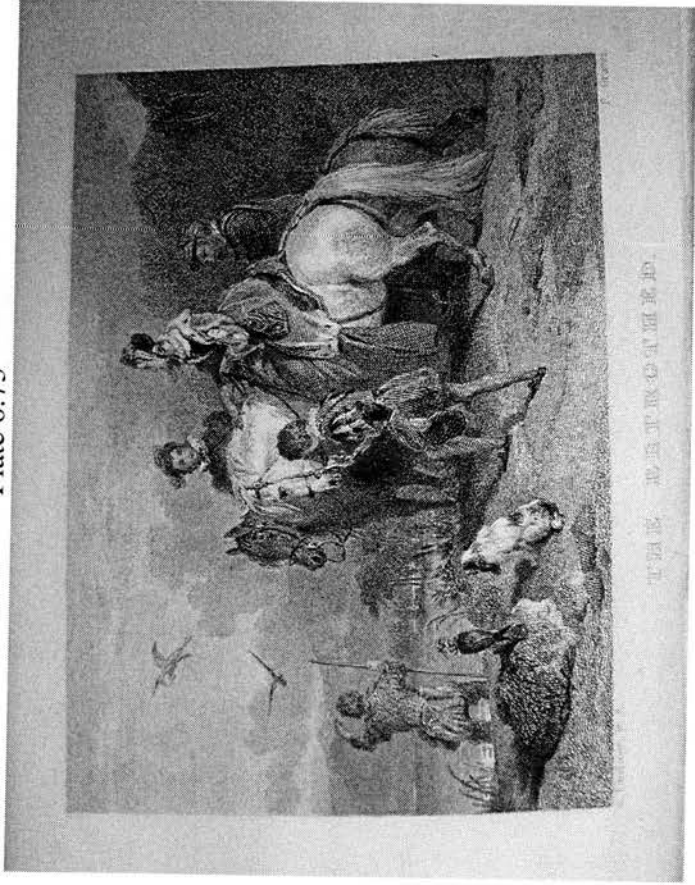
Novel: *Redgauntlet*, vol. XXXVI.

Title: “The identical Peter wears a huge great coat, threadbare and patched, His hair, half grey, half black, escaped in elflocks around a huge wig made of tow, above which he plants an immense cocked hat.”

Artist: W. Kidd

Engraver: J. Horsburgh

Plate 6:73



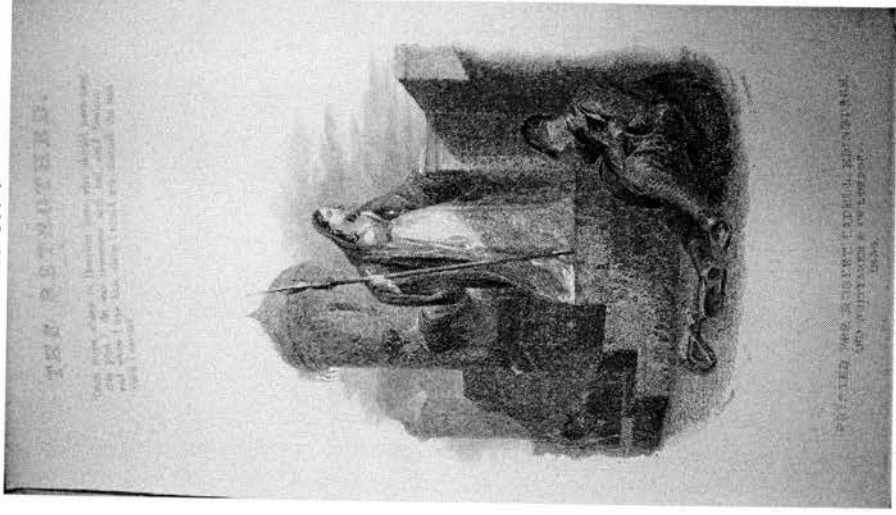
Novel: *The Betrothed*, vol. XXXVII.

Title: "The Betrothed"

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: R. Graves

Plate 6:74



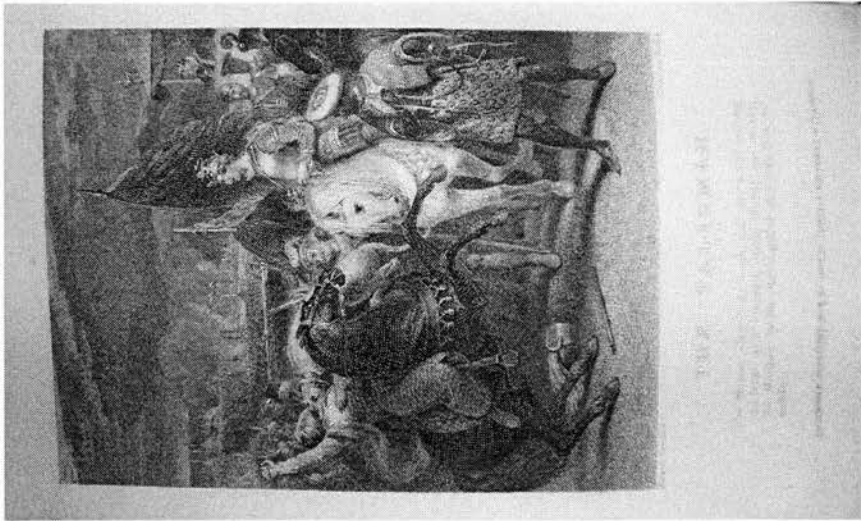
Novel: *The Betrothed*, vol. XXXVII.

Title: ""Once more, where is Peterkin Vorst, who should have kept this post?" "He was overcome with toil, said Eveline, and when I saw him sleep I would not disturb the rest which I envied.""

Artist: A. Fraser

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:75



Novel: *The Talisman*, vol. XXXVIII.

Title: "The Nubian slipped the leash, and then bound

Artist: Watson Gordon

Engraver: Charles Rolls

Plate 6:76



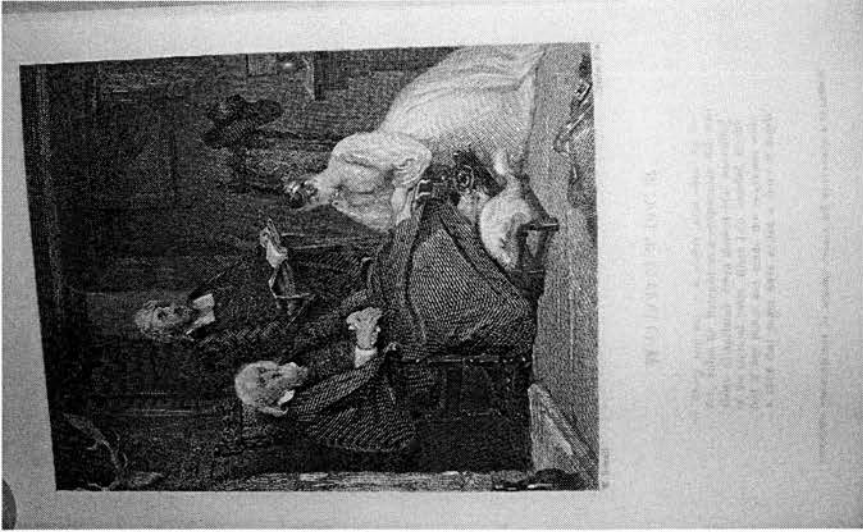
Novel: *The Talisman*, vol. XXXVIII.

Title: "Christian and Saracen sat down together on the turf, and produced each the small allowance of store which they carried for their own refreshment."

Artist: W. Gordon

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:77



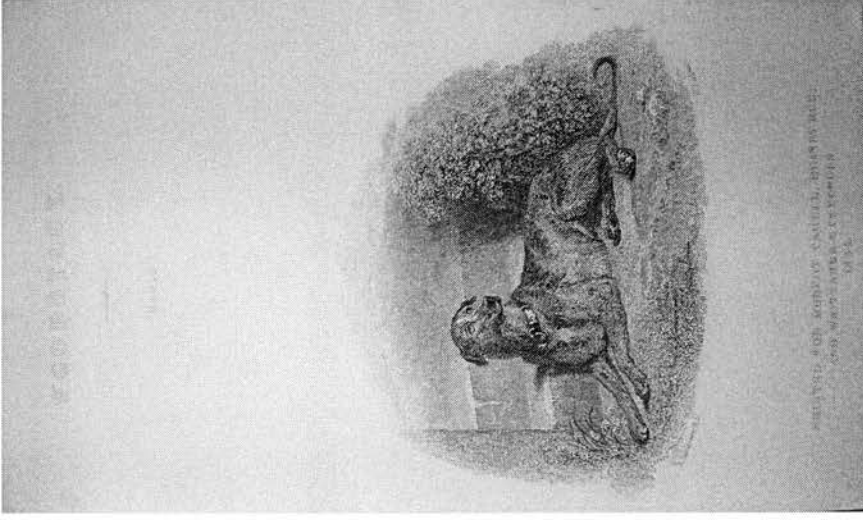
Novel: *Woodstock*, vol. XXXIX.

Title: "Sir Henry Lee sat in a wicker arm chair by the fire, while he listened to a respectable old man, whose dilapidated dress showed still something of the clerical habit. Alice Lee kneeled at the feet of her father, and made the responses with a voice that might have suited a choir of angels."

Artist: W. Boxall

Engraver: Charles Fox

Plate 6:78



Novel: *Woodstock*, vol. XXXIX.

Title: "Bevis"

Artist: E. Landseer

Engraver: W. Raddon

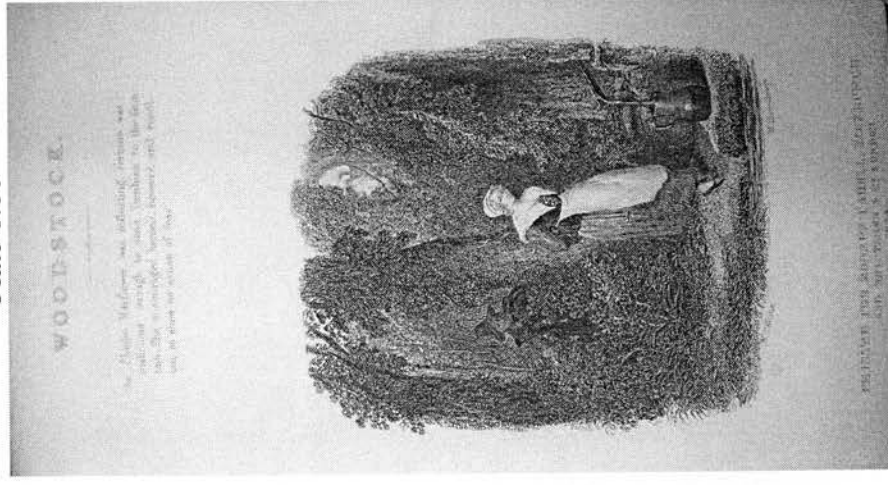


Novel: *Woodstock*, vol. XL.

Title: "His daughter took some needle work and, bringing it close by the old man's side, employed her fingers on this task, bending her eyes from time to time on her parent."

Artist: J. Inskipp

Engraver: Augs. Fox



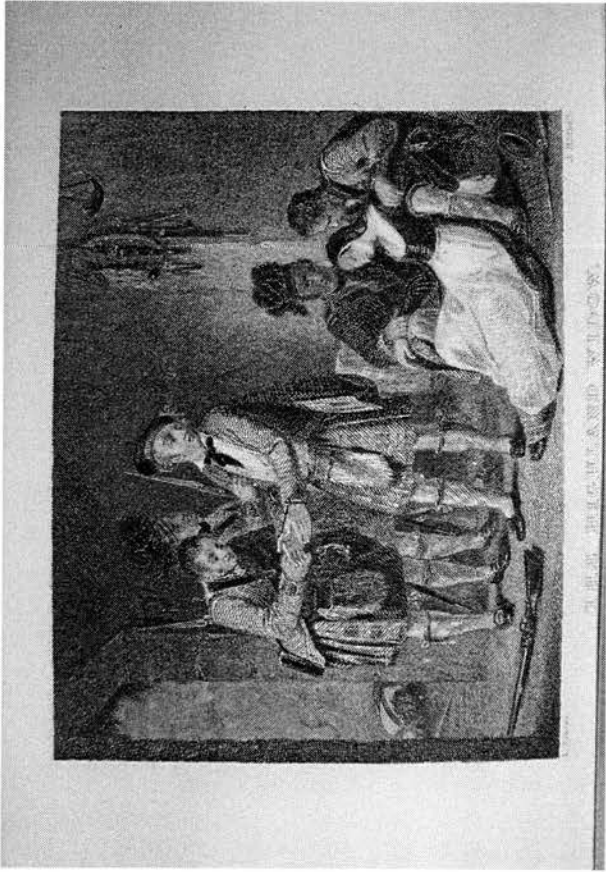
Novel: *Woodstock*, vol. XL.

Title: "As Phoebe Mayflower was reflecting, Fortune was malicious enough to send Tomkins to the fountain. She encouraged herself, however, and resolved to show no sense of fear."

Artist: W. Collins

Engraver: W. Humphreys

Plate 6:81



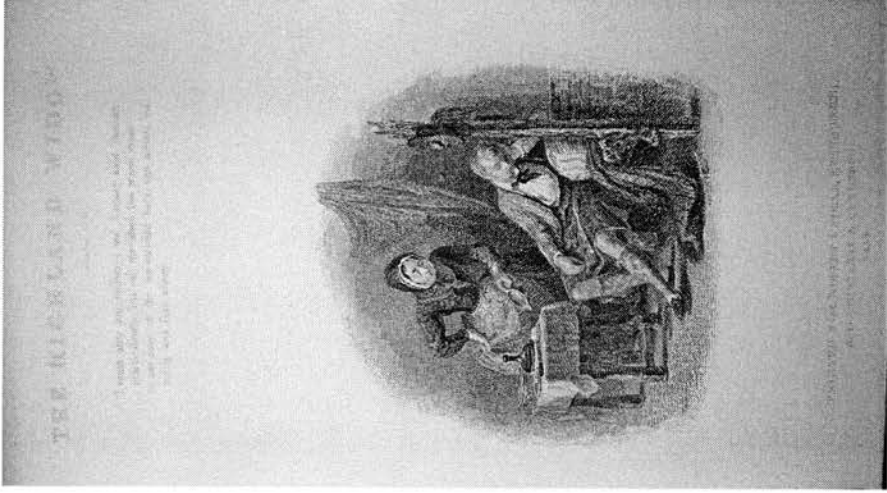
Novel: *The Highland Widow*, vol. XLI.

Title: "The Highland Widow"

Artist: A. Fraser

Engraver: J. Mitchell

Plate 6:82

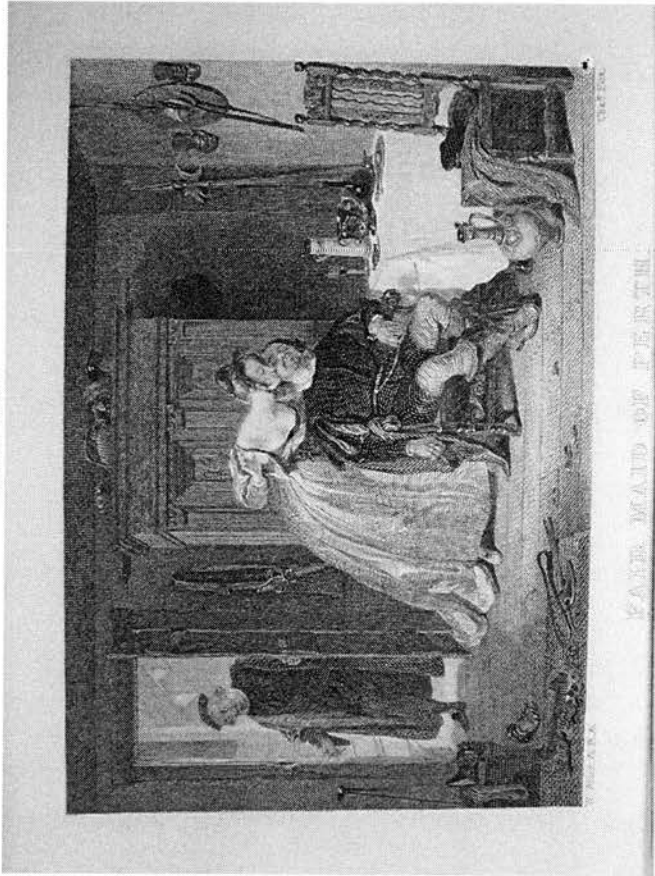


Novel: *The Highland Widow*, vol. XLI.

Title: "'I must obey you, mother, I feel I must," said Hamish inarticulately, "but call me when the moon rises." He sat down on the bed—reclined back, and almost instantly was fast asleep."

Artist: A. Fraser

Engraver: W. H. Watt



Novel: *The Fair Maid Perth*, vol. XLII.

Title: “Fair Maid of Perth”

Artist: W. Allan

Engraver: Chas. Fox



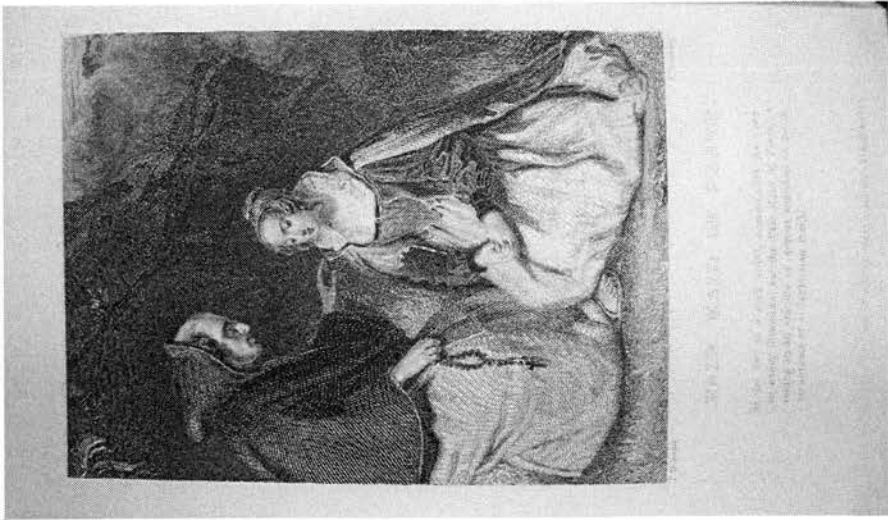
Novel: *The Fair Maid of Perth*, vol. XLII.

Title: “He beheld stretched beneath him, the valley of the Tay, traversed by its ample and lordly stream, the town of Perth, with its two large meadows or Inches, its steeples, and its towers.”

Artist: D. O. Hill

Engraver: W. Miller

Plate 6:85



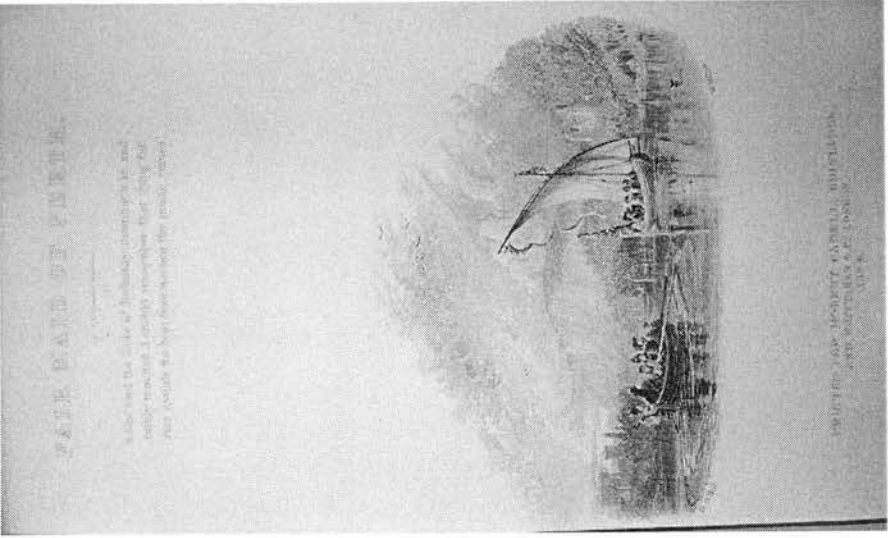
Novel: *The Fair Maid of Perth*, vol. XLIII.

Title: "At the foot of a rock which commanded the view in every direction, sat the Fair Maid of Perth, listening in an attitude of devout attention to the instructions of a Carthusian monk."

Artist: T. Duncan

Engraver: J. Horsburgh

Plate 6:86

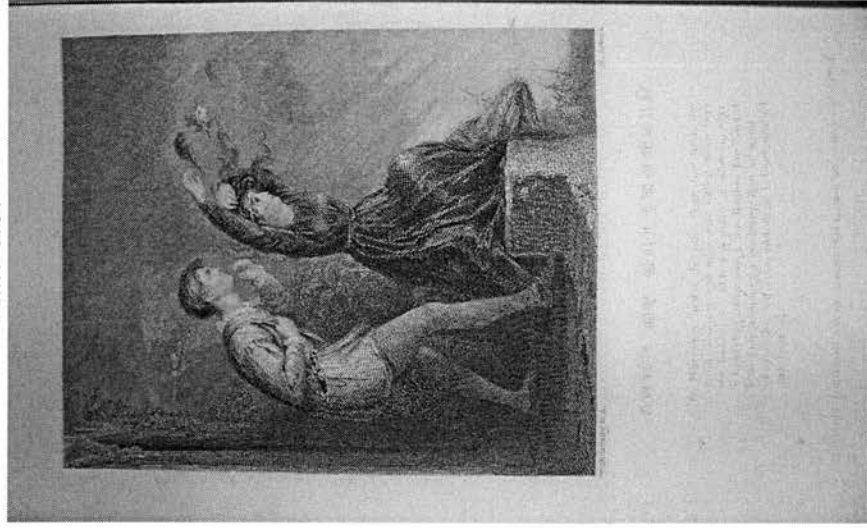


Novel: *The Fair Maid of Perth*, vol. XLIII.

Title: "'A lute,'" said the Duke of Rothesay, listening: "it is, and rarely touched. I should remember that dying fall steer toward the boat from whence the music comes."

Artist: D. O. Hill

Engraver: W. Miller



Novel: *Anne of Geierstein*, vol. XLIV.

Title: "As Margaret spoke, she tore from her hair the sable feather and rose, and tossed them from the battlement with a gesture of wild energy; a bickering eddy swept the feather far distant into empty space, a contrary gust of wind caught the red rose, and drove it back against his breast."

Artist: W. Mulready

Engraver: R. Graves



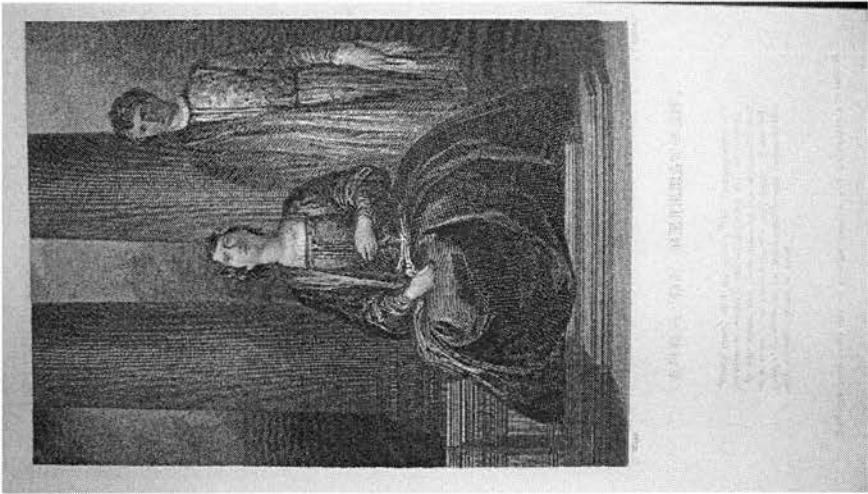
Novel: *Anne of Geierstein*, vol. XLIV.

Title: "'Ha! Scharfgerichter,'" said the knight, as he entered the folter kammer, thou art preparing thy duty?" "It would ill become your excellency's servant to be found idle. But the prisoner is not far off as I can judge by the fall of my sword, which infallibly announces the preserve of him who shall feel its edge."

Artist: R. T. Bone

Engraver: W. Humphreys

Plate 6:89



Novel: *Anne of Geierstein*, vol. XLV.

Title: "'Young man,'" said the Queen, "the contemplation of a question so doubtful almost deprives me of reason". As she spoke, she sunk down as one who needs rest, on a stone-seat placed on the very verge of the balcony, regardless of the storm, which now began to rise with dreadful gusts of wind."

Artist: J. West

Engraver: C. Rolls

Plate 6:90



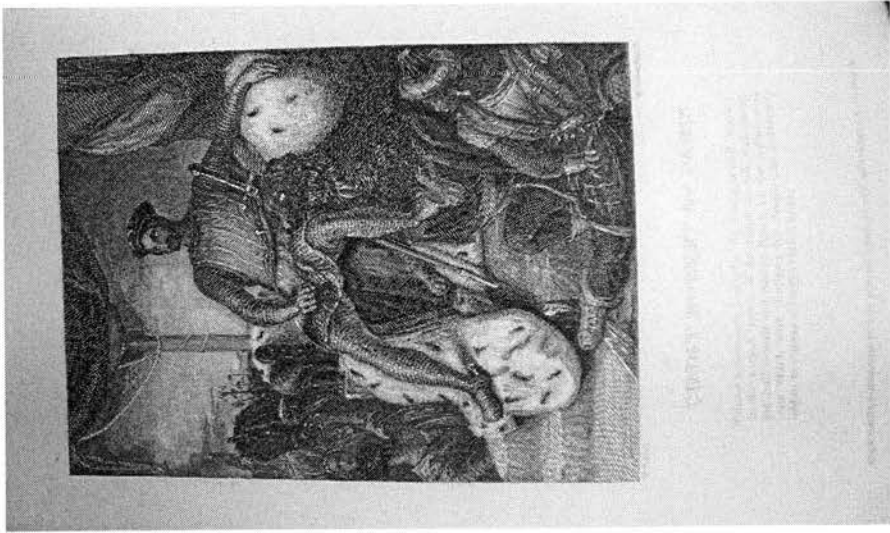
Novel: *Anne of Geierstein*, vol. XLV.

Title: "Annette sped up a narrow turnpike stair to a closet or dressing room, where her young mistress was seated, and exclaimed with open mouth—Anne of Gei—I mean my lady Baroness, they are come, they are come!"

Artist: J. M. Wright

Engraver: Josh. Rolls

Plate 6:91



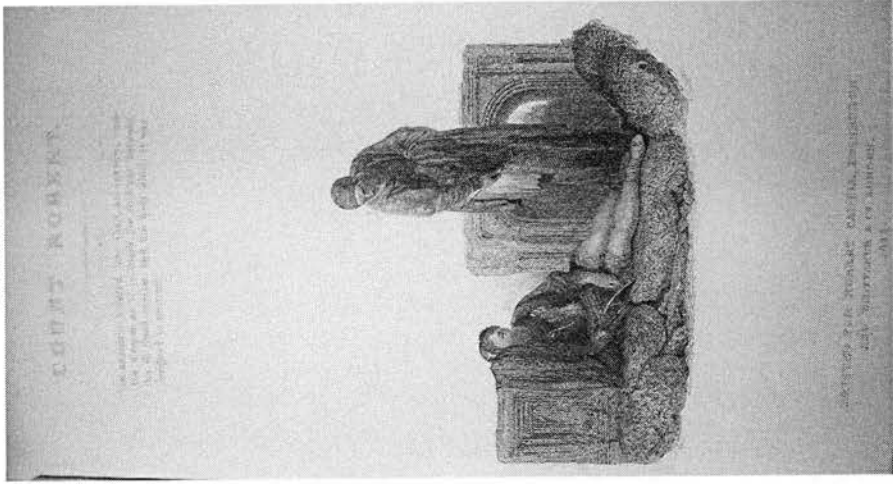
Novel: *Count Robert of Paris*, vol. XLVI.

Title: "Without a moment's hesitation the Frank seated himself in the vacant throne of the Emperor, and extending his half armed and robust figure on the golden cushions which were destined for Alexins, he indolently began to caress a large wolf hound."

Artist: W. Boxall

Engraver: W. Greatbatch

Plate 6:92



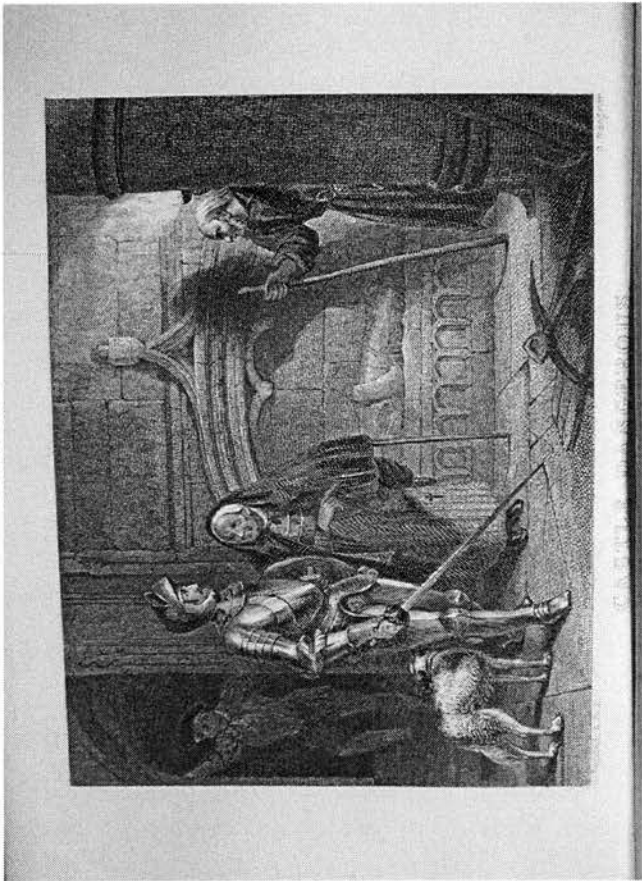
Novel: *Count Robert of Paris*, vol. XLVI.

Title: "The assassin hovered less than an instant over the sleeper as if to mark the interval between the ill fitted corset, and the body which is was designed to protect."

Artist: J. West

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:93



Novel: *Castle Dangerous*, vol. XLVII.

Title: "Castle Dangerous"

Artist: C. Stanfield

Engraver: S. Sangster

Plate 6:94



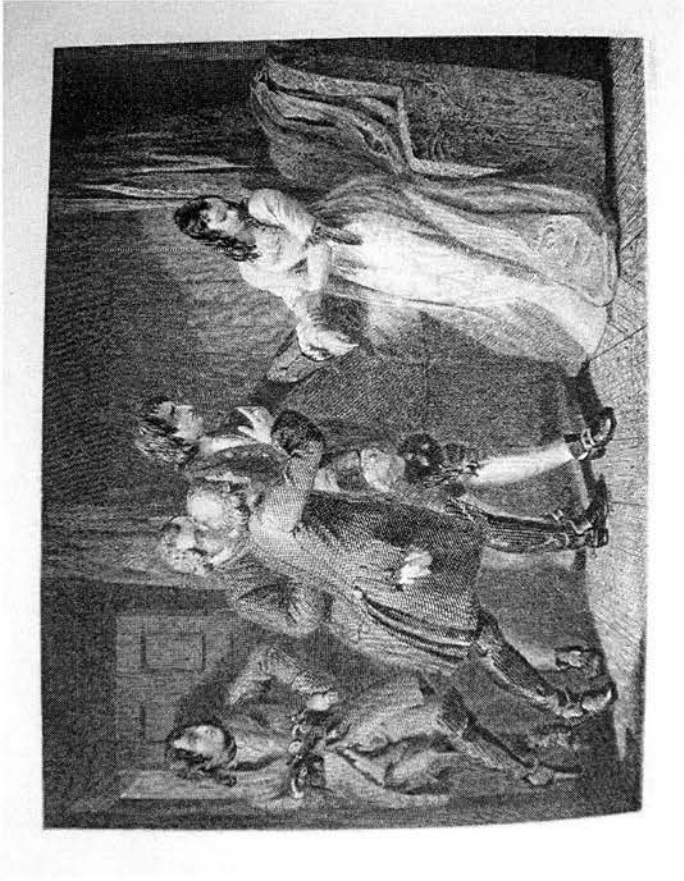
Novel: *Castle Dangerous*, vol. XLVII.

Title: "The trooper wrapping part of a mantle round her head, lent his arm to support her in this blinded state."

Artist: A. Fraser

Engraver: Chas. Fox

Plate 6:95



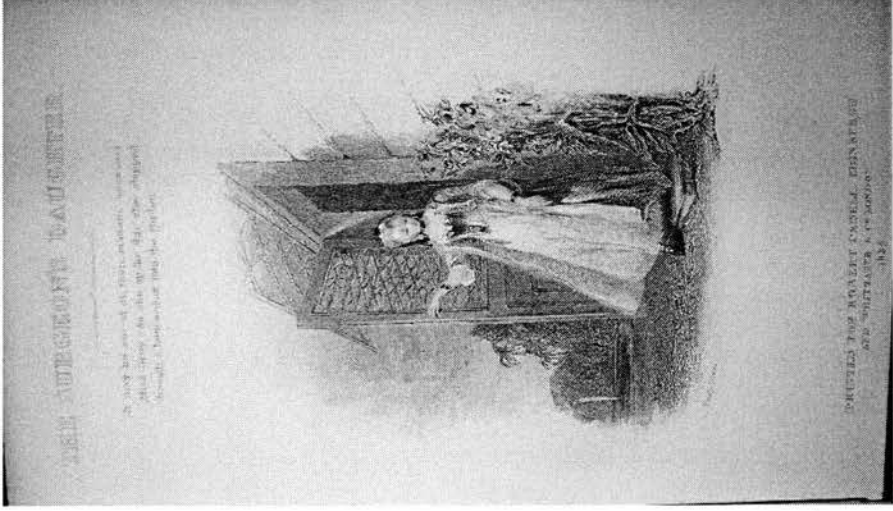
Novel: *Chronicles of the Canongate*, vol. XLVIII.

Title: "The Surgeon's Daughter"

Artist: Frank Stone

Engraver: J. Goodyear

Plate 6:96



Novel: *Chronicles of the Canongate*, vol. XLVIII.

Title: "'It may be out of it, then, madam', answered Miss Grey.— As she spoke this she stepped through a lattice-door into the garden."

Artist: Frank Stone

Engraver: Rob.t Graves

Appendices

Appendix 1

This letter was sent from Archibald Constable to Alexander Nasmyth on 1 June 1820 concerning the illustrations to the 1821 edition of the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*. NLS, MS.791, ff. 68-69.

“Mr Naysmith [sic] Esq

London

I have just had some conversation with the great unknown on the subject of the vignettes to the novels and [&?] tales he admires Holyrood house greatly & indeed approves of all the subjects we had thought of & I think they will be arranged thus

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| Waverley | Vol 1 Bradwardine castle partly Craigcrook & partly Ravelston—as much of the latter as possible |
| Guy Mannering | 2. Holyrood House |
| Antiquary | 3. Caerlaverock Castle this to be placed in a more elevated position that its natural stance |
| [69]
R Roy | 4. This not fixed [nb. this became <i>Dunre Castle</i>] |
| Old Mortality | 5. Fairport, (Bonny Dundee) with the Laird of Monkbarns’s House at the east end of it—this is a real scene |
| Heart of
Midlothian | 6. Abbey of Arbroath or any other similar ruin but in a loc.n situation to answer the alchemy [] of <i>Dunster</i> |
| Bride of L | Vol 7. High Church of Glasgow |
| | 8. Inversnaid |
| | 9. Black Dwarf this you must fabricate from the book & an acct of the Black Dwarf in Black Dwarf the Scots Mage |
| | 10. Castle of Cragneithan |
| | 11. Battle of Bothwell bridge this will be found in an etching by Charles Sharpe in Kirkton’s Church History. |
| | 12. Old Prison of Edinburgh |
| | 13. Grassmarket & Castle |
| | 14. St Anty’s Chapel & Muschats Cairn. |
| | 15. Crichton Castle |

Montrose
4th Editn.

16. Old Castle of Inverary will be found I think in Pennants Tour

From this arrangement there appear just to be one subject completely to design & that
for Vol 4th still to fix on—

This can be thought of & arranged when you return to Edin.

I beg my best compliments to Mr & Mrs Terry & remain yours &c AC”.

Appendix 2

NLS MS.23001 – *Waverley* interleaved set, vol. I of *Magnum Opus*

This interleaved set opens with a reproduction of the frontispiece of the *Novels and Tales* 1822 edition, with Nasmyth's frontispiece of Tully Veolan for *Waverley*.

The list of proposed illustrations to the edition is given at the end of the handwritten introduction to *Waverley* – no folio number is given and the handwritten text is difficult to decipher. However, the list for the first thirteen volumes is clear enough, as it appears to be written in Cadell's handwriting, possibly having been dictated from Scott, while the second page, beginning with "Waverley", appears to be in Scott's erratic and frail handwriting. The list reads as follows:

"Waverley -	I	Quarrel at Luckie McLearies (Allan)
"	II	Floras Song in the Glen of Glennaquoich (Allan)-
"	III	Flora in the glen of Glennaquoich (Leslie) –
"	IV	McIvor warned of his fate by the grey spirit (Leslie)
Guy Mannering	I	Meg Merrilies predicting the fall of the house of Ellangowan (Allan)
"	II	Meeting of Meg, Brown & Dinmont at the Ale house in Cumberland (Allan)
"	III	Meg Compelling Sampson to eat (Leslie)
Antiquary	I	The Antiquary buying fish (Allan)
"	II	Monkbarns arming himself at the alarm of Invasion (Allan)
"	III	Dowsterswivel [sic] Digging for Treasure (Leslie)
"	IV	The Antiquary incensed at the intrusion on his sanctum (Leslie)
Rob Roy	I	The Fight in the Public house at Aberfoyle (Allan)
"	II	Francis Osbaldiston [sic] and Diana Vernon in the Library (Leslie)

Courbould – Newton – Leslie – Landseer (Edwin) *Stephanoff* and *Cooper* are the Artists in view for illustrating the above *anew*"

Waverley

Evan Dhu introduced by [?] w the Laird of Bradwardine vol. 1 p. 162

Frey [?] at the Smiths shop Vol. 1 p. 330

Waverley conducted past the English s[?] (vol 2. p. 35)

Meeting of Waverley with the Baron of Bradwardine in the hall of David Gellatleys
mother vol 2 p. 121

Guy Mannering

Dominie Sampson [?] the many offices by Mrs Bertram p. 168 vol. 3d

Mrs Dinmont doctoring Dandies need [?] Vol III p. 224

Mr Pleydell surprised playing at high jinks IV vol p 58

Antiquary

First appearance of Edie Ochiltree vol V p. 59

The Conference between Edie and Mrs Wardour Vol. V p. 186-187

[?] party at the post office Vol V. p. 221

Death of Elspat Mucklbacket [sic]. VI. p. 285

Rob Roy

The meeting of Bailie Nicol Jarvie with Rob Roy on the Tolbooth of Glasgow

Interview between the Baillie and Helen McGregor"

Appendix 3

W. 13. W. **THEATRE-ROYAL, EDINBURGH.** N. 72. 46.

To prevent the Inconvenience which many Ladies have experienced from waiting in the Lobbies of the Theatre for their Carriages, one of the Box-Openers has been appointed to notify the Arrival of each Carriage, as it draws up.

THIRTEENTH TIME IN THIS CITY.

This present Evening, WEDNESDAY, March. 8. 1820, will be performed a Romantic Drama in Five Acts, called,

THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN,
OR THE LILY OF ST. LEONARDS.
 FOUNDED UPON ONE OF THE CELEBRATED "TALES OF MY LANDLORD."

With New Scenery, Machinery, Dresses, and Decorations, and appropriate Music.
 The Overture and incidental Music selected from the National Melodist of Scotland.
 The Machinery under the superintendence of Mr RONALDSON—The Dresses by Mr J. M'ALPINE.
 The FLEWS of EDINBURGH and its VICINITY painted by Mr NASHFILL.
 The other Scenery designed by Mr PYETT, and by Mr ROBERTS of the Theatre-Royal, Glasgow, and executed by them and their Assistants.

John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, by Mr JONES,
 George Stanton, assuming the Name of Robertson, by Mr CALCRAFT,
 John Dumbie, Laird of Dumbiedikes, by Mr MACKAY—David Deans by Mr LOVEDAY,
 Mr Bartolme Saddletrce by Mr DUFF—Heuben Butler by Mr J. FARREN—Mr Sharpshaw by Mr WELSH,
 Mr Archibald by Mr ANDERSON—Kasper by Mr MARTIN—Donald by Mr M'GRIFFIN—James by Mr NIMRAT,
 Sergeant of the Guard by Mr Aikin—The Town Guard by Messrs Dow, Mowat, Kennedy, Taylor, M'Kenzie, and Gough,
 Police Officers, Messrs George and Sandys—Countrymen, Messrs Graham, Gills, Hodges, Beiford, Ganger, Hishop, Nairns, Edleston,
 Ross, Calder, Zeigler, Yester, Lawrie, Upton, Trimmer, Salford, McDonald, Ellis, Francis, Brookes, Chryse, Gordon, Henderson, &c.
 The Porteous Conspirators, Messrs Davenport, Lawson, Baillie, McDonald, Ellis, Francis, Brookes, Chryse, Gordon, Henderson, &c.
 James Hattcliffe by Mr ALEXANDER—Tyburn Town by Mr GRAY—Black Frank by Mr W. MURRAY,
 The Queen of England by Mrs RENAUD,
 The Lady Suffolk by Mrs MACKAY,
 Jeanie Deans by Mrs H. SHODONS—Effie Deans by Mrs W. MURRAY,
 Mrs Glass by Mrs NICOL—Mrs Janet Bulchrie by Miss STANFIELD—Bessy by Miss NICOL,
 Margery Murdochson by Miss PENMAN—Madge Wildfire by Miss ROCK.

The SCENERY, which is entirely New, will be exhibited in the following Succession:

ACT I.
 1. VIEW of EDINBURGH—SUNRISE.
 Taken from the foot of Salisbury Crags.
 2. VIEW of DAVID DEAN'S COTTAGE and BYRE.
 3. AN APARTMENT in the COTTAGE of DAVID DEANS.

ACT II.
 1. VIEW of EDINBURGH by MOONLIGHT,
 2. RUINS of ST. ANTHONY'S CHAPEL,
 And Musch's Cairn—Moonlight.
 3. A ROOM in DUMBIEDIKE'S HOUSE.
 4. The HALL in the OLD TOLBOOTH of EDINBURGH.
 Painted from a Drawing, made in 1817.
 5. The PARLIAMENT CLOSE.

ACT III.
 1. The LAIRD of DUMBIEDIKE'S MANSION.

[The Public is respectfully requested to observe, that the Views of Edinburgh are painted with an intention to represent the City as it appeared in the Days of Porteous.]

ACT IV.
 1. DISTANT VIEW of EDINBURGH,
 And Craigmillar Castle, taken from the Dalkeith Road.
 2. LANDSCAPE on the LONDON ROAD.
 3. INTERIOR of the ROBBERS' EARN.
 4. ROMANTIC WOOD near the ROBBERS' EARN.

ACT V.
 1. The DUKE of ARGYLE'S LIBRARY, LONDON.
 2. The PARLOUR of Mrs GLASS, the TOBACCONIST,
 3. CLOSE WALK in the ROYAL GARDENS,
 at Richmond.

ACT VI.
 1. DISTANT VIEW of the CITY of CARLISLE,
 2. The ROOM in DUMBIEDIKE'S HOUSE.
 3. The HALL of the TOLBOOTH, EDINBURGH,
 4. The GRASSMARKET, EDINBURGH.

To which will be added the Farce of

THE HUNTER OF THE ALPS.
 Felix by Mr JONES—Roaslei by Mr ALEXANDER—The Children by Master H. NICOL and Miss E. STANFIELD,
 Jeronymo by Mr LOVEDAY—Juan by Mr HUCKEL—Marco by Mr J. FARREN,
 Baptista by Mr DUFF—Pietro by Mr M'GRIFFIN—Carlo by Mr ANDERSON,
 Helena by Mrs EYRE—Genevieve by Mrs GARRICK,
 Claudine by Miss STANFIELD—Stella by Miss NICOL—Fera by Mrs MACKAY.

NO ORDERS WILL BE ADMITTED.

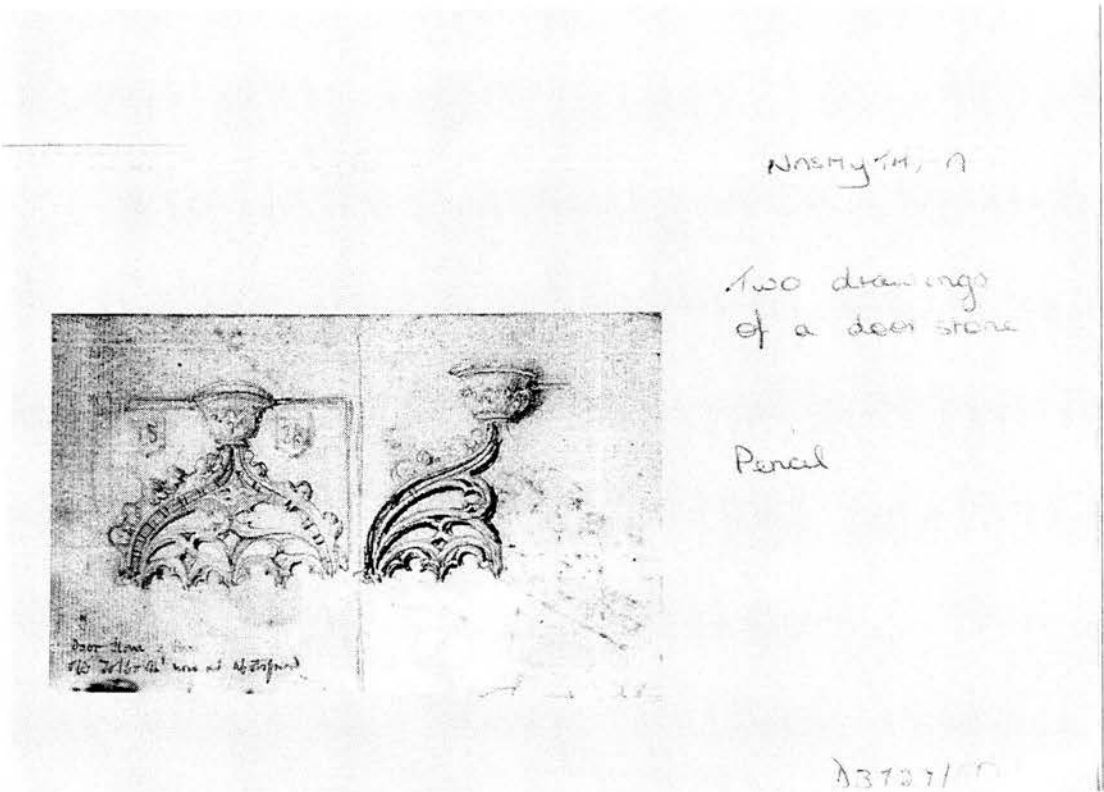
Several Ladies and Gentlemen resident in the Vicinity of Edinburgh having addressed Mr W. MURRAY as to the probable length of time the New Play of the HEART of MID-LOTHIAN will continue to be performed, it is respectfully stated, that, previous to the late Closure of the Theatre, the Managers not feeling themselves entitled to calculate upon a reputation of this unprecedented degree of success which last Season attended the production of ROBERT MACGREGOR, formed several Engagements, which, commencing about the latter end of this Month, will necessarily terminate the representation of the present popular Drama, should its hitherto uninterrupted attraction continue to attend it until that period.

THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN
 Will be performed every Evening this Week.

To-Morrow with the Farce of X, Y, Z.
 On Friday with, First Time in this Theatre, the BARBER of SEVILLE

Playbill for Daniel Terry's *The Heart of Midlothian*, February 23, 1820.

Appendix 4



Sketch of Thistle design in stone work of Tolbooth, by Alexander Nasmyth. (National Gallery of Scotland, document D3727/50).

Appendix 5



Duguid, Henry *The Tolbooth, Edinburgh* (National Gallery of Scotland, document D2645). This sketch is undated but appears to be in keeping with other topographical sketches of the Old Town of Edinburgh which were taken from life, and dates this image to before its destruction. The building is identical in detail to the image by Sommerville, unlike Nasmyth's later illustrations from the 1820s and 30s.

Appendix 6



Allan, William, *Doorway of Edinburgh Tolbooth and Keys of Heart of Tolbooth of Edinburgh* (National Gallery of Scotland, documents D2668 and D2669).

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